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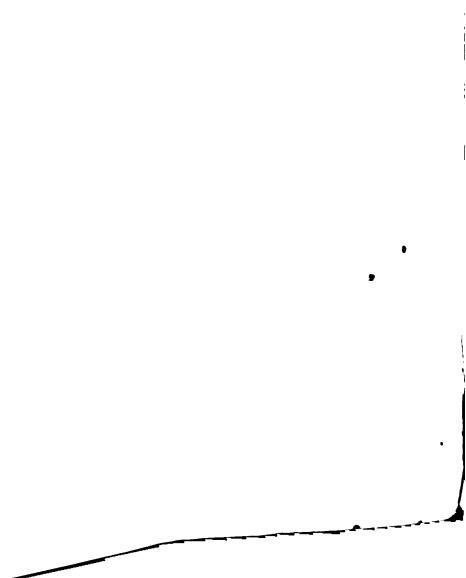
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CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

By ROBERT ANDERSON

FORMERLY HEAD MASTER, NORMAL INSTITUTION, EDINBURGH



W. & R. CHAMBERS
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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS work contains the chief events in the History of Scotland from the earliest times to the Union with England, with a brief continuation to the present day. The text is arranged in numbered paragraphs, those in the larger type forming a continuous narrative, while the paragraphs in smaller type are supplementary, and may be omitted or not, at the Teacher's discretion. To render the book still more useful for school purposes, an Analysis of Events in chronological order, and of the subjects treated of, is appended to each chapter; and a Genealogical Table, Chronological Tables, numerous Questions for Examination, and a copious Index, are given at the end.

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

I. THE ROMANS: 55 B.C.—420 A.D.

Agricola; Hadrian; Antonine; Severus; Roman and other remains; Stone and bronze implements.

1. AGRICOLA'S INVASION.—Scotland, the northern part of Great Britain, occupies about one-third of the whole island, with a much more broken coast-line than England, and a more lofty and rugged surface. The first notices of it are given by Roman writers. Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, 55 B.C.; but no conquest was made till nearly a century later, in 43 A.D. What is now called England was Romanised without much difficulty. From 80 to 85 A.D., Agricola, an able commander, carried the Roman arms to the northern shores. He built a line of forts across the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; and defeated the Caledonians in a great battle at Mount *Gramp* or *Graup*, which does not seem to be connected with the 'Grampian Mountains,' and is supposed to be indicated by the great camp at *Ardoch*, between Dunblane and Crieff. His fleet, assisting, sailed along the east coast and round the north of Scotland, but the country was not subdued.

2. HADRIAN'S ROMAN WALL, 120 A.D.—We next find the Emperor Hadrian in Britain. Both as a defence of the south, and as a base of operations against the north, he fortified a line of about eighty miles, from the Tyne below Newcastle to Bowness on the Solway. On the north side was a ditch, ten or twelve feet deep, having on its south edge a wall of dressed freestone, about nine feet thick and eighteen feet high; then an earthen rampart, a second ditch, and two smaller earthen ramparts. There were towers at intervals of a mile, and about twenty well-fortified stations or barracks. This great work, which bends from its course to cross and command neighbouring heights, shews that the people to the north were unsubdued, hostile, and dangerous.

3. ANTONINE'S WALL, or GRAHAM'S DIKE, 139 A.D.—Under the Emperor Antoninus, in 139, Lollius Urbicus made a wall, with about twenty forts commanding the streams and lines of communication, from near Blackness on the Forth to West Kilpatrick on the Clyde. For some time the country between the two walls was more or less subject to Rome; but renewed attacks by the *Meatians* and *Caledonians* brought the Emperor Severus with a large army to Britain in 208. Though the natives did not meet him in battle, he lost 50,000 men in forcing his way through the country amid much hardship and harassing opposition. Having strengthened Hadrian's wall, he retired to York, where he died in 211.

4. THE LAST SUCCESS AND RETREAT OF THE ROMANS.—In the next century, new names come before us. The *Picts* and *Scots* now harass the Romans and the Britons of the south. Aided by a body of *Saxons*, they penetrate

even to London, and load themselves with spoil. The Romans send a large force under Theodosius, who falls on the plunderers, defeats them in a succession of battles, drives them beyond the Forth, and for a brief period restores the country between the walls to the rule of Rome. Pressed by nearer and greater enemies, Rome finally withdrew her legions from Britain in 420.

5. ROMAN REMAINS.—Scotland has more remains of Roman camps than any other country, and in almost every district one or more are still traced and known. It has also two great Roman roads: one leading from Carlisle to the west end of Antonine's wall; and the other, a continuation of Watling Street in England, leading by Jedburgh and Melrose to Cramond. Remains illustrating their settled life and civilisation are but few, and these are almost entirely confined to the district between the two walls, as near Tranent, Edinburgh, Cramond, and Falkirk.

6. REMAINS NOT ROMAN.—There are other remains, of which we know neither the authors nor the age. One great fortified line, called the *Catrail*, or *Picts'-work Ditch*, can be traced from the west end of the Cheviots to the Gala, and probably extended to the east coast. It consisted of a ditch with a wall on each side, and with forts on the neighbouring heights. Another, known as the *Devil's Dike*, can be traced along the west side of the Nith.—HILL FORTS are numerous. That at *Caterthun*, near Brechin, is an immense work; one rampart of loose stones being 25 feet wide at the top, and four times wider at the base. The *Barmekyne of Echt*, about fifteen miles west of Aberdeen, has five concentric stone ramparts, smaller but more elaborate than those of the Caterthun. At *Tapuc*, in the Torwood, near Denny, and at *Laws*, near Broughty-ferry, extensive foundations and great blocks of masonry have been laid bare, connected in both cases with a circular chamber about forty feet in diameter, the walls being enormously thick.—VITRIFIED FORTS, found from Kirkcudbright to Shetland, had their materials run together like the slag of an iron-work, as *Dunskeigh* in the

north of Cantyre ; *Craig Phadrick*, near Inverness ; and those on *Dun-o'-Deer* and *Noth Hill*, south of Huntly.—BURGHs, called also 'Pictish' or 'Danish towers,' are very numerous in the north. Many of them are too small for forts, and were probably intended for the safety of stores or treasures. They consist of two circular walls without mortar—the inner perpendicular, but the outer



BURGH MOUSA.

inclined inwards, by each layer of stones overlapping the one below, and making a smaller circle. As the walls rise, the space between becomes narrower, and is divided by slabs into stories and chambers opening into the central space. One of the most perfect is in the isle of *Mousa* in Shetland ; it is 42 feet high ; the diameter of the outer wall being 50 feet, and that of the central space 20 feet.—EARTH-HOUSES, or 'Weems,' were underground galleries, about 30 feet in length and 8 feet in width and height, formed of large untooled stones, and roofed with blocks still larger. Near *Kildrummy* on the upper Don their numbers are sufficient to have formed underground villages.—The so-called PICTS' HOUSES shew more skill or more care. One or more

CRANNOGE RESTORED.



chambers, well built, but without mortar, were surrounded by circular walls, and covered with a mound of earth. Even when round, the chambers were roofed, not by an arch, but by each course of stones overlapping inwards the course below. Chambers and galleries, not constructed, but excavated in the sandstone rock, are found at *Hawthornden*, and on the banks of the Jed above *Jedburgh*.—CRANNOGES, or lake-dwellings, were artificial islands, sometimes of solid beams of wood, mortised together and fastened to the bottom by stakes. Buildings were raised on them, and they were clearly intended for refuge or defence. One on *Loch-an-cilan*, near the Spey, remained till 1688.

7. REMAINS, SEPULCHRAL OR RELIGIOUS.—Cairns of stones and barrows of earth raised over the dead are found in all districts. At *Maeshowe*, near Stennis, between Kirkwall and Stromness, there exists a great chambered barrow. A low tunnel leads to a chamber, fifteen feet square, with smaller cells on each of three sides. The whole had been built on the plain, with hewn stones, but without mortar, and the mound raised over it afterwards.—STANDING STONES are found in various parts of the country. They are huge rough blocks standing alone, but set up



DOLMEN.

by man. Less frequent are *dolmens*, two or more stones set up, and another laid over them. Then there are the *logan* or rocking-stones, many evidently the result of man's labour, and so poised,

that while a small force will set them rocking, the united strength of many will not cast them down. Still more wonderful are the great untooled stones, set up in one or more ovals or circles, with equally great stones laid like a rail on the tops. The greatest circles of this kind are those of *Callernish*, in Lewis, and *Stennis*, in Orkney, somewhat resembling *Stonehenge*, on Salisbury Plain, in England. They have been called Druidical circles or temples; but there is nothing to shew that there ever were Druids in Scotland.

8. **SCULPTURED STONES.**—Unsculptured stones were most probably connected with funeral rites, or set up as monuments or memorials of the dead, at different times from the first to the ninth century. But there are *sculptured stones* common to both Scotland and Ireland. They are found on both sides of Scotland, but those of the west shew higher art and richer decoration. On some, probably older than the introduction of Christianity, are merely represented incidents of war or of hunting. On others, Christian symbols are found; and those at *Kirkmadrine*, in Wigtownshire, attributed to the fourth century, are probably the oldest Christian monuments in Great Britain. Others, again, either have the figure of the cross cut standing out from the flat stone, or have the stone itself in the form of a cross.

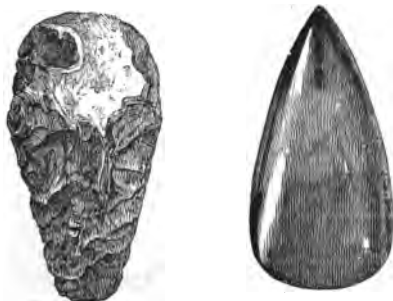
9. **STONE, BRONZE, AND IRON IMPLEMENTS.**—Weapons and implements of stone, bronze, and iron are found in Britain, as in other countries, and it has been assumed that these indicate three periods, distinct in time and civilisation. First was the time when the people had no instruments but those of stone. Next they learned to work in copper. Gold and silver, if less abundant, are easily found and worked, but are less useful. By-and-by the people found the way to smelt and work the more useful iron. But the three kinds may have been used at the same time in the same country by people of different classes, or even by the same people for different purposes. Of the stone instruments, or *celts* (from *L. cellis*, a chisel), most are of flint, from arrow-heads half an inch long to axes or chisels twenty inches in length. Some are chipped, others are ground, according to their use. The flint-heads were fitted into the handle, but other stone implements had handles fitted into them. Of bronze, or copper hardened by an alloy of tin, are axes both for war and peace, spear-heads,

domestic utensils, and swords and small circular shields, many of excellent shape, and ornamented with much taste. Had not moulds for making them been found, we might have supposed that the bronze instruments were imported, as tin is not found in Scotland. Brooches of gold are not uncommon, and some are so beautiful that our best makers even now imitate but do not surpass them. In many places Roman coins, stone, bronze, and iron implements, have been found together, the ruder ones in some cases appearing to have been those last deposited.

ANALYSIS.

- 80-85. Agricola's invasion ; forts from Forth to Clyde.
- 120. Hadrian's Wall, from the Tyne to the Solway.
- 139. Antonine's Wall, from the Forth to the Clyde.
- 208. Severus in Scotland.
- 368. Picts, Scots, and Saxons attack London.
- 420. Roman legions withdrawn from Britain.

Roman remains ; other remains ; the Catrail, hill forts, vitrified forts, burghs, earth-houses, Picts'-houses, crannoges, chambered mounds, standing stones ; implements of stone, bronze, and iron.



FLINT WEAPONS.

II. EARLY INHABITANTS.

*Celts and Teutons ; Britons ; Picts ; Scots ; Saxons ;
Norsemen.*

10. CELTS AND TEUTONS.—There are two races and two languages in Scotland—Celtic in the Highlands, and Saxon in the Lowlands. The Celts were the earlier inhabitants, for even where the Saxons now live, and have given their own names to the towns and settlements they have formed, the rivers and hills have Celtic names. Scotland had two branches of Celts—the Gaelic in the Highlands, and the Cymric, Cambrian, or Cumbrian, now only in Wales, but formerly over most if not the whole of the island. Clyde, Dee, Avon, Eden, Ayr or Aire, Calder, Douglas, are names common to both England and Scotland. The English and Lowland Scots are Teutons, a name applied to the Dutch and Scandinavians, as well as to the people of Germany, from the north of which the Saxons came to Britain.

11. NAMES IN THE ROMAN PERIOD.—In the earlier period, the Romans speak of the *Meatians* and *Caledonians*. The former were almost certainly the people between the walls, and the latter those who lived north of the Forth ; but we know not whether either of these names was used by the people themselves. In the later Roman period we read of *Britons*, *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Saxons*.

12. BRITONS.—The Britons, or Cymric Celts, for a considerable time formed a separate state called *Cumbria* or *Strathclyde*, extending from Lancashire to the Clyde, with a chief seat at Alcluyd or Dumbarton. They were partly dispossessed by the Saxons; some retired to their brethren in Wales; and the rest were gradually absorbed into the rising kingdom of Scotland. The last mention of a Strathclyde prince is as an ally or tributary of Malcolm in 1018; but the people, as Bretts, are spoken of in charters two centuries later.

13. PICTS.—The Picts, first mentioned in 296, held the east of Scotland north from the Firth of Forth. They have left no literature, and we do not know whether the word *Picti* means 'painted,' as the Romans said they were, or is the Latin form of *Pehta*, 'fighters,' as they proved to be. Much learning has been employed to prove that they were Celts, and as much to shew that they were Teutons. Pictland may have been Celtic; and without conquest or noted invasion, a continued stream of immigrants may have made the dwellers more Saxon than Celtic, without changing the name of the state, or dispossessing the leading families. The names, where not Saxon, are chiefly Cymric; but in no part of Britain are the people more purely Teutonic than in Pictland. The Picts, in 685, defeated the Northumbrian Saxons at Dunnichen, near Forfar, and extended their power to the Tweed. They continued as a distinct state till Kenneth united both Picts and Scots in 843.

14. SCOTS.—The Scots are first mentioned in 360 as one of the tribes fighting against the Roman power in Britain. The name was not used by themselves, but

was long applied by Latin writers, heathen as well as Christian, both to the people of Ireland and to their colonies, which came from Antrim to the Western Isles and to Argyle.* Ireland lay just beyond the edge of the Roman empire, and probably had no small share, without the shock of conquest, of such benefits as the empire could bestow. When the might, organisation, and laws of the empire were crushed by barbarous force, and the gathering night of the dark ages was settling over the Roman provinces, Ireland, being neither in the strife nor between the contending parties, was a land of peace and light. Christianity had been established there; and when the tumult in other lands had been partly quelled, the 'isle of the saints' sent missionaries and scholars to rekindle abroad the lights which Ireland had retained. In subsequent ages, when it was forgotten that these Scots had come from Ireland, the merit of their labours was ascribed to the inhabitants of Scotland.

15. RISE OF THE SCOTS POWER.—For some time the same persons held land and power both in Ireland and Argyle. Loarn More was their first leader of great fame, and may be said to have been the founder of the state of the Dalriad Scots of Argyle in 503. They retained their connection with Ireland, and attempted its conquest in 637, but were defeated in the great battle of Magh Rath, now Moyra, in the county of Down. Probably far more from their superior culture than from their numbers or arms, the Scots gradually extended their power over

* It is not known how the name arose. Many connect it with Celtic *scuite* = 'wanderers,' from which we have *scout*. One of the first writers using the name says: *Scotti per diversa vagantes*, 'the Scots through divers lands wandering.'

Strathclyde and Pictland, till they held most of the country north of the Tweed, and made strong and not unpromising efforts to gain Cumberland and Northumberland. We find Kenneth ruling both Scots and Picts in 843; but their history continues confused and doubtful, and only a few names and facts require notice. Grig appears as a hero king, but his greatness is very shadowy. Constantine invaded Northumbria, and was defeated by Athelstane at Brunenburgh, in 937, though the victory was for some time doubtful. The Saxon Chronicle says of this battle: 'No slaughter has been greater in this island, ever yet, of folk laid low by the swords' edges, since hither from the east, Angles and Saxons came to land over the broad seas.' In 945, Malcolm I. had Cumberland ceded to him by Edmund the Elder. Kenneth III. defeated the Danes at Luncarty, near Perth, in 990. Malcolm II. slew and succeeded Kenneth IV.; defeated the Danes at Mortlach, in Banff, in 1014; was beaten by the Saxons at Durham, but gained a victory over them at Carham, on the Tweed, in 1018. His successor and grandson, Duncan, was slain by Macbeth, the ruler of Moray and the north, whose wife Gruach seems to have been the representative of the Kenneth slain by Malcolm. This Macbeth, immortalised and made for ever infamous by Shakspeare, seems to have been better, rather than worse, than many kings of his time, and was distinguished for his piety, as shewn at least in his gifts to the Church.

16. SAXONS.—Towards the end of the third century, Saxons so infested Roman Britain, that Carausius was appointed 'Count of the Saxon coast,' to repel their assaults. Long before the so-called Saxon conquest of

the fifth and sixth centuries, they had settled in many districts of England. The first Saxon state north of the Humber was set up in 547. Two states were formed, which were united in 617, as the kingdom of Northumbria. Its northern limits were not well fixed, the Picts sometimes pushing their rule beyond the Tweed, and the Saxons theirs to the Forth. The possession of the borderlands of Northumberland and Cumberland was long contested by Saxons, Picts, and Britons. The stories about the British Prince Arthur are tinged with the spirit and manners of the age of chivalry, and must have received the earliest form in which they are known to us, long after the events they narrate. So far as local legends may decide, the true Arthur-land extends from Forfar to York, and the struggles described agree better with the contests between the northern Saxons and the people of what is now called Scotland, than with anything known of the contests of the Britons in the south-west of England. If so, each Celtic branch in Scotland was distinguished by its own rich poetic romances; for the Gaels have their legends about Ossian, the son of Fingal; and the lands north-west and south-east of the Grampians harmonise well with the very different local colouring of the legends regarding Fingal and Arthur.

17. NORSEMEN.—The Norsemen came from Denmark and Norway. In these countries the rise of strong governments, and a dislike to their control, led many to seek a freer home, or a life which they preferred. The sea was open to them, and its islands and fiords were places of defence and harbours of refuge. The ground might be barren, and the space small, but they depended not on its produce, for the sea carried them to wide and rich lands,

whose wealth they made their own. In favourable circumstances they often made a settlement, and generally became the most valuable inhabitants. Fierce, but not wantonly cruel, with courage to suffer as well as to dare, they were neither deficient in skill nor insensible to art. Numbers and brute force may tell on the land, but a fleet requires capacity and influence in the command; while those who serve must be steady and ready, obedient to authority, individually self-reliant, but mutually trusting and helping. States with a sufficient mixture of seamen have been generally free both from turbulent violence and slavish submission. These Norse were often called *Vikings*, not sea-kings, but sons of the creek, or, as we may say, *bays-men*. Before their time, navigation had made little progress, and vessels seldom ventured far from shore; but the Norse boldly crossed the widest and most stormy seas. Remains found in the peat-mosses of Denmark shew that their tools were numerous and good, and that their vessels were constructed with much skill. These, made both for sails and oars, were sometimes from 70 to 100 feet long, clinker built, the gunwales rising with the keel at each end into a high prow, with reversible helms and rowlocks, so that either end might go first. Whether known as Vikings, Norse, Normans, or Danes, for a long period, but more so in the ninth and tenth centuries, these northern men swept most of the seas and shores of Europe, spreading terror and ravage, but carrying also the spirit of enterprise and wealth. As a large element in our population, they have not only infused a great measure of manly fairness and freedom, but imparted the capacity and spirit which have carried our commerce and planted our colonies all over the globe.

18. As connected with Scotland, the Norsemen had three centres of power :

1. The Earldom of Orkney, which for a time included the counties on the Moray Firth, and the ruler of which was sometimes called the Maarmor of Ross, or of Ross and Moray.
2. The Ostmen, who had Dublin as their seat, and contested with Orkney the possession of the Hebrides.
3. The Earldom of Northumberland, which was sometimes a separate power, and sometimes under the sway or the influence now of Scotland, now of England.

19. Some knowledge of local names will help us to see how these various races have spread and mingled in our country. Applied to HILLS, we have in *Cymric*—ard, craig, combe or cum, dun, pen, tor ; in *Gaelic*—ben, ken, knock, ross, ros or rose ; in *Saxon*—hill, low, law, peak, ridge or rig ; in *Norse*—fell, ness, pike, scar. Connected with PLAINS, we have in *Cymric*—dal, gwent or gant, lan ; in *Gaelic*—auch, blair ; in *Saxon*—ing. For FORESTS, we have in *Cymric*—cot, den ; in *Saxon*—holt, hurst, ley, shaw, wold or weald ; in *Norse*—lund. For VALLEYS, we have in *Cymric*—glyn, nant ; in *Gaelic*—glen, strath ; in *Saxon*—dell or dale. Connected with RIVERS, from the *Cymric* are—aber, avon, esk or usk, linn or lin, pool ; from *Gaelic*—inver ; from *Saxon*—burn, bourn, fleet, or ; from *Norse*—beck, firth, ford, wick. In ISLANDS, we have from the *Gaelic*—innis or inch ; from the *Saxon*—ey ; from the *Norse*—holm, oe, ay. Connected with INHABITED INCLOSURES, we have from the *Cymric*—bod, don, tre ; *Gaelic*—bal, kil (church) ; *Saxon*—bottle or both, bury, chester or cester, church, hall or sall, ham, ing, stead, stock, stow, set, worth ; *Norse*—borough or burgh, by, caster, garth, kirk, seter or ster, thwaite, thorpe, throp or trop.

- 296. First mention of the Picts.
 - 360. First mention of the Scots.
 - 503. Loarn More founded the state of the Dalriad Scots.
 - 637. The Scots defeated in Ireland at Moyra.
 - 685. The Saxon Egfrid defeated and slain at Dunnichen.
 - 843. Kenneth became king of both Picts and Scots.
 - 937. The Scots defeated at Brunenburgh by Athelstane.
 - 945. Malcolm I. acquired Cumberland from Edmund.
 - 990. Kenneth III. defeated the Danes at Luncarty.
 - 1014. Malcolm II. defeated the Danes at Mortlach.
 - 1018. Malcolm defeated the Saxons at Carham.
 - Last mention of a Strathclyde prince.
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Celts and Teutons ; Gaelic and Cymric branches of the Celts.
The Scots are superior in culture, and absorb Strathclyde and
Pictland ; legends of Fingal.
The Saxons ; continuous immigration from the third to the
seventh century ; legends of Arthur.
The Norsemen, Vikings, or Danes ; origin, character, and seaman-
ship ; three chief centres of power.
Celtic, Saxon, and Norse elements in names of places.



NORSE GALLEY.

III. RELIGIONS.

Old religion of the Britons ; of the Norse ; Christianity, Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, Cuthbert ; The Culdees.

20. HEATHEN BRITONS.—The religion of the ancient Britons and Gauls is said by Cæsar to have been Druidism, directed and taught by a body of priests, called Druids from performing their rites in oak-groves. Supposing Cæsar's information to be correct, we do not know to what extent Druidism prevailed in Britain, or how long it remained. We have no certain traces of it in Scotland, nor do those who introduced Christianity tell of opposition from any organised system or priesthood. They speak only of the *magus* or priest of a local idol or temple. If the Romans introduced Christianity, it disappeared with them, and must have been either not generally received or not firmly believed.

21. NORSE HEATHENDOM. — We know more of the religion of the Saxons and the Norsemen, which was substantially the same, and suited their new as well as their old homes. From their gods, some of whom were rather heroes than deities, our days are named ; Sunday from the *sun* ; Monday from the *moon* ; Tuesday from *Ty* or *Tyr* ; Wednesday from *Woden* or *Odin* ; Thursday from *Thor*, the son of *Odin* ; Friday from *Frigga*, the wife of *Odin* ; and Saturday from *Sæter*. Their gods were strong and jovial ; with domestic faith, and troth and trust ; often doing harsh and bloody deeds, but all in fair fight, without treachery, or even subtlety ; and free from the licentiousness which marked the deities of Greece and

Rome, or of the East. For the evil-doers after death, was a place of torment called *Nastrond* ; for the indolent, the timid, and those without ambition, was the cold, cheerless, shadowy *Hel* ; but for the bold warrior and daring hero was *Waeltheal* or *Valhalla*, glittering with gold, and bright with armour. It had forty gates ; and within were the fierce joys of fight that harmed not, and an endless revel that never sated. Such was the religion of the east and north of Scotland in the fifth and sixth centuries.

22. CHRISTIANITY.—In whatever way Christianity was introduced, the first great name that occurs is that of Ninian, whom Bede, in the seventh century, mentions as the apostle of the south of Scotland. He founded a church or religious house at Whithorn, in Wigtownshire, and is said to have died in 432. In the same year, St Patrick, born near Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, went to Ireland. He was not the first but the most successful missionary there, till his death in 460. St Serf at Culross and Lochleven, and Palladius at Fordoun, in Kincardineshire, laboured among the Picts in the middle of the sixth century. A disciple of the former, St Kentigern or St Mungo, restored or established the faith among the Britons of Strathclyde. His labours and death were on the banks of the Molindinar, which flows between the present Cathedral and Necropolis of Glasgow.

23. COLUMBA AND THE COLUMBITES.—The great Christian missionary in Scotland was Columba or St Colm, a kinsman of several chiefs both among the Irish and the Argyle Scots. Involved in the civil strifes of his own country, he sailed for Iona in 563, and founded the celebrated monastery there, which was only, as the custom then was, a wattled building, or *creel-house*. This became a centre and a school, from which missionaries were sent and monasteries founded, not only over all Scotland and North-

umbria, but even in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Over those in Britain, Iona exercised authority. The early Columbites did not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, and stoutly differed in several points from the churches which did. Their tonsures were not according to rule; the great festival of Easter was differently appointed; and many of their bishops had no sees, and were subordinate to the abbot. Bede, without excusing, accounts for their peculiarities, 'because, in that far out of the world abode of theirs, none had ever communicated to them the synodal decrees.' He says, however, that they were 'eminent for their strict continence, divine love, and exact discipline . . . diligently observing those works of piety and chastity, and those only which they were able to learn from the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles.' They conformed to the order of the Roman church in 716, and, owing to the attacks of the Norsemen, their headquarters were removed to Dunkeld in 826. The Columbite church sent Aidan to Christianise the Saxon subjects of Oswald, king of Northumbria. Among his distinguished successors were Finnian, who founded the church of Lindisfarne, the Iona of the north of England, and Cuthbert, 635-687, whose fame and shrine were not less honoured in the north of England than were those of Thomas à Becket in the south.

24. THE CULDEES.—From the middle of the eighth to the close of the tenth century, we know little of the church in Scotland. A revival then spread over Western Europe, most active in England and Normandy, the aim and effect of which were to bring the churches into closer connection with Rome, and more obedient to its spirit and forms. The sees of the bishops gradually embraced all the land and the clergy. Orders of monks grew and multiplied. When men of wilder zeal struck out new paths and gathered followers, the church did not cast them off, but found them scope and service as branches of an old order, or members of a new; making combined action restrain individual excess. Each order had the power of numbers, while it could act and be influenced as a single person. The members might vary, but the body and spirit was one and unchanged. Union gave strength. The lands and wealth of a monastery might be tempting, and the monks but feeble; but the power of the order and of the church

behind it induced caution and respect. When this wave of revival reached Scotland, it found and brought to light the *Culdee* church, differing in spirit, and requiring to be conformed. The name is from the Celtic *Kele-de*, servants of God. If the Culdees did not represent the Columban church, they stood in its place; and if they had lost its zeal and its learning, they retained its simplicity and its opposition to episcopal control. Though they were not monks, they formed brotherhoods, which were often endowed with considerable lands, malt-kilns, meal-mills, fisheries, and ferries, for their support. Each settlement, besides servants, had a father or abbot, and twelve brothers, some of them priests and some laymen. The church stood in the midst of the settlement, surrounded by dwellings for the brothers; for all, even the abbot, might be married men with families. All joined in the work of the land, or the labour of the settlement. But not having the corporate union of the regular orders, their lands often passed into common holding; sometimes given by the abbot to his family, sometimes passing by consent or force to some grasping or powerful neighbour. Still, when Margaret the Saxon and her family introduced the episcopal sees and orders of Rome into Scotland, the lands of the Culdees sufficed so far for the new bishoprics and monasteries. Sometimes the Culdees were ejected; sometimes they submitted to the change; and sometimes the existing members retained a life interest, and the vacant places were filled by men of the new order. It is probable that, though the name ceased, the spirit of the Culdees continued to some extent till the Reformation, and was not without influence in its accomplishment.

432. Ninian, the Apostle of the South, died.

460. Death of St Patrick.

563. Columba came from Ireland to Iona.

826. The Columban headquarters removed to Dunkeld.

No Druidical system found in Scotland.

Norse mythology; their gods fierce, but not cunning or impure. Christianity introduced by St Ninian; Serf, Palladius, Kentigern. Columban church; its missionary zeal and opposition to Rome. Aidan, Finnian, and Cuthbert, labour among the Saxons. Culdees; both industrial and religious communities.

IV. THE KINGDOM SETTLED : 1057-1153.

Canmore ; Normans ; Saxons ; Wars with England.

25. MALCOLM CANMORE.—Duncan, slain by Macbeth, left two sons, who found refuge with their uncle, Siward of Northumberland. Taking advantage of discontent in Scotland, and aided by forces from the south, Malcolm, the elder, sought the crown of his father. Macbeth's defeat at Dunsinnane was not decisive; but he fell in the north in 1056, as did Lulach, son of Gruach, in 1057. Then was Malcolm Canmore, or Big-head, crowned at Scone. This is the first notice of a Scottish coronation. The defeat and death of Harold the Saxon laid England at the feet of William, Duke of Normandy, a man of power and strong will, and eminent even among Norman leaders for those qualities that so fitted them to conquer and to rule. Coveted by both, the land from the Humber to the Tweed was neither Scottish nor English, and the fight for it now became fiercer than ever. Each king strove, if he could not take it to himself, to make it useless to his rival.

26. SAXON IMMIGRATION.—Many of the Saxons, unable to resist, and unwilling to submit to William, left England, and took refuge in Scotland, increasing the Saxon element in its population. Among these came Edgar Atheling, heir of the Saxon kings, with a band of faithful nobles, his mother, and his two sisters, one of whom, Margaret, became the wife of Malcolm. From affection and interest, Malcolm tried to aid Edgar against William;

but Edgar, weak and irresolute, was one of those who gain assistance more to the harm of their friends than the good of themselves. In his second invasion, Malcolm, finding the Earl of Northumberland and Cumberland a foe, instead of a friend as expected, harried the district with a thoroughness and ferocity beyond all the bloody raids of the period. William next attacked Scotland, and is commonly said to have reduced it (1073). But the oldest record simply states that 'William then led a force to Scotland, and lay about that country with ships on the sea-side, and himself and his land-force went in over the ford; and there they nought found for which they better were. And Malcolm became agreed with King William, and became his man.' The strife went on till 1080, when ten years of rest came, in which Malcolm advised Edgar to make peace with William, who 'received him with great worship, and he was there in his court, and took such rights as he allowed him.' William died in 1087, his son, William Rufus, obtaining England, while the eldest, Robert, had to content himself with Normandy. Robert made over to Rufus some lordships in Normandy which had been granted to Edgar, who sought help from Scotland. Malcolm advanced into England, but was met near Leeds by Rufus; and a treaty was made in 1091, through the intercession of Robert and Edgar. Malcolm, complaining that Rufus was breaking the treaty and garrisoning Carlisle, again harried the north of England. But, near Alnwick, 'Robert, Earl of Northumberland, insnared him with his men unawares, and slew him.' Of two sons with him, Edward, who was to succeed him, was also slain; but Edgar escaped to his mother at Edinburgh, who died on hearing the tidings (1093).

27. MALCOLM AND MARGARET.—Malcolm's head was strong as well as big. Though rough and fierce, he was brave and generous ; and, after a reign of thirty-six years, in which he had to deal with great events and powerful foes, he left his kingdom better and stronger than he found it. Margaret was a superior woman. Very pious, and well cultured for her times, she brought the refining influences of her own character and of a higher civilisation to bear on the Scottish court, which had lost much of the polish of the Dalriads, and on the king himself, who loved her dearly. He kissed her favourite books, which he could not read, and ornamented them with rich bindings, gold, and jewels, and did all he could to bring the church in Scotland into conformity with the Roman usages in which she had been trained. Their favourite residence was Dunfermline, and the names of *St Margaret's Hope* and *Queensferry* still recall the memory of the queen.

28. EDGAR.—Donald Bane, the brother, and Duncan, an illegitimate son of Malcolm, were either guardians or rulers till 1097, when Edgar was placed on the throne. In his unusually quiet reign there is nothing of note, except the marriage of his sister, Matilda or Maud, to Henry Beauclerk of England. Through her grandson, Henry II., that country had restored to it, in the Plantagenet kings, the old line of the Saxons.

29. ALEXANDER I.—In 1107 Edgar was succeeded by his brother Alexander, a firm and vigorous prince. By Edgar's bequest, his younger brother David was made ruler of Cumberland, and Alexander could not, like former kings, push his frontier in that direction, unless at his brother's cost. He carried forward the work of

changing the Culdee for the Roman forms, and erected the bishopric of St Andrews. The consecration was given by the archbishop of York, but his claim of supremacy over the new diocese was firmly resisted by Alexander. The Maarmor of Moray rose against him in 1120, but was driven across the Moray Firth and reduced with fierce vigour. Alexander died at Stirling in 1124, leaving his throne to his brother David.

30. DAVID I.—Since 1108, David had been a rich English noble, as Earl of Huntingdon. It is not clear whether this was part of the inheritance of his wife Matilda, heiress of Waltheof of Northumberland, or whether it had been given him as compensation for Northumberland itself, which the king of England could not yet reckon his own, and which he would not like to see held by one who was already prince of Cumbria, and would likely be king of Scotland. David had passed much of his time in England, where his wife was a great heiress, and his son had married into the family of Warenne and Surrey. His sister was the queen of Henry, who appointed her daughter Maud to succeed himself, and made the barons swear fealty to her. David took the oath first; but the honour of the second place was contested, and was gained over her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, by Stephen of Blois, her cousin, who, on Henry's death in 1135, usurped the throne. The Normans were now firmly fixed in England, and the larger Saxon element had scarcely influenced them yet. It was probably less because Maud was a woman, than because she was half a Saxon, that the Normans put Stephen in her place. The time of Stephen is the great period of the *Norman castles*, of which no complete specimen has been found in

Scotland. They were built less against invasion than as means of aggression and oppression, where the lord might rule all around, drawing into them such as he wished to despoil.

31. **BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.**—David marched to Durham, 1135, on behalf of Maud, and was met by Stephen. Neither ventured on battle; the claim to Northumberland was left open, and the other English fiefs were given to David's son, Henry. In 1138, David led another army into England. A body of Normans met him at Northallerton. Their standard was a wagon bearing something like a vessel with a tall mast, hung round with relics and sacred banners, with the consecrated host at the top of all. David's force was great, but ill compacted—Lowlanders with cuirasses and long spears; men of Galloway with pikes only; men of Orkney and the Isles with their battle-axes; and Highlanders with their swords and small round shields. Each successive onset which they made was driven back in confusion; a cry that their king was slain completed the disorder; and David, baffled but not defeated in this 'Battle of the Standard,' rallied his forces, and wasted the English borders. Stephen gave up Northumbria to Prince Henry; and David, except in curbing the Maarmor of Ross, had quiet during the rest of his reign. He died in his castle of Carlisle, 1153. David devoted himself to completing the pious labours of his mother and brothers, and generally gets credit for much that was done by them. He adjusted the bishoprics of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Galloway, Glasgow, Moray, and Ross; and founded the abbeys of Holyrood, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh, Newbattle, and Kinloss.

- 1057-93. MALCOLM III. or Canmore.
 1066. Norman Conquest of England.
 1068. Arrival of Margaret and Edgar.
 1093. Malcolm fell at Alnwick.
 1093-1107. EDGAR; his sister Maud queen of England.
 1107-1124. ALEXANDER I.; see of St Andrews erected.
 1124-1153. DAVID I.; intimate relations with England.
 1138. Battle of the Standard at Northallerton.
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Possession of Northumbria disputed by Normans and Scots.
 Malcolm's daughter Maud queen of Henry Beaclerk; their daughter named as Henry's successor, but displaced by Stephen and the Norman interest; David makes war in support of Maud.
 Margaret and her sons reduced the Culdee Church, advanced the Roman Church, and founded many bishoprics and abbeyes.

V. THE BOUNDARIES FIXED: 1153-1286.

The disputed Borders fall to England; Scotland regains the west.

32. MALCOLM THE MAIDEN.—David was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, whose father, Prince Henry, had died in the previous year. He had much trouble with the people of Galloway and the Norse of Moray. Somerled, the powerful chief of Argyle and the Isles, made two formidable rebellions, but was defeated and slain at Renfrew in 1164. In a meeting at Chester with his cousin, Henry II., Malcolm gave up all claim to Northumberland and Cumberland in 1157, and died at Jedburgh in 1165.

33. **WILLIAM THE LION.**—Malcolm was followed by his brother William, who, in 1174, unsuccessfully invaded Northumberland, which Henry had refused to restore. A hasty muster of Yorkshire barons made a night-march from Newcastle, and, on coming through the morning-mist to Alnwick, saw a small body of horsemen tilting in a meadow. One of these was William, who, whether taking the comers for friends or foes, dashed forward, was captured, and taken to Henry at Northampton. He was conveyed to Falaise in Normandy, and only released on doing liege homage for Scotland, as the vassal of Henry. Stirling, Edinburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh received English garrisons, maintained at William's expense. On his accession in 1189, Richard the Lion-hearted, who was about to join the Crusades, and was in need of money, knowing that an independent friend was better than a powerful angry vassal, withdrew. for 10,000 merks, all the conditions which his father had extorted by new deeds from the king of Scots while in captivity. William died at Stirling in 1214.

34. **ALEXANDER II.**—William was succeeded by his son, Alexander II. The barons of England agreed to yield to him the northern counties, if he would aid them in the dispute with their king, John. But John died in 1216, and with his son, Henry III., Alexander was generally at peace. Though the king of Scots held lands both in Cumberland and Northumberland, these counties were now fairly a part of England; and, though commissioners appointed by both kingdoms could not agree as to the exact marches, the boundary-line was substantially as it is now. Many powerful Norman families had arisen in Scotland, several of them equally connected with both

kingdoms. When war was threatened in 1244, two great opposing armies met near the Border, but there was no fighting; much of the old enmity had died out of the hosts, and by the treaty of Newcastle, matters remained as they were. Alexander had many difficulties, however, with his outlying territories, and in an expedition against the ruler of Argyle, died on the small isle of Kerrera, near Oban, in 1249.

35. ALEXANDER III.—The crown fell to Alexander's son, a boy of eight years. His mother, Mary de Coucy, was an able woman, of a family not great in land, but proud in name, as shewn by their motto: 'No king am I, nor even prince; I am the lord of Coucy.' At York, on Christmas 1251, he was married to Margaret, daughter of Henry III., and did homage for his lordships of Penrith and Tyndale. When asked to do homage for Scotland, he replied with a wisdom not likely his own, that this matter, about which he had not taken the counsel of the notables of his realm, was too important to be discussed at a marriage-feast. We have seen that the Norsemen conquered the north of Scotland, and the isles on the west. The kings of Scotland claimed sovereignty over them, but found the chiefs more ready to fight than to obey them. Latterly, the Hebrides had been divided by Ardnamurchan Point into the Norderies, and the Suderies with the isle of Man.* Haco of Norway determined that he, and not the king of Scots, should be their master. Though he had reigned forty-six years, he would trust the expedition to no one but himself. Leaving his son Magnus as regent, and sailing

* Hence the bishopric of 'Sodor and Man.'

from Bergen he passed to Orkney, where his rule was acknowledged; and to Caithness and the western isles, when the chiefs who were striving to renounce the feeble grasp of Alexander, found reason to dread the firm grip of Haco.

36. **BATTLE OF LARGS.**—Haco being joined by his son-in-law, Magnus of Man, their fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels swept round Cantyre, and anchored between Arran and Ayrshire. The Scots, who had made but little preparation for this invasion, tried at first to negotiate. But as winter drew nearer, they became less eager for a treaty, and forces were gathered on the heights around. Storm followed storm. Some ships stranded near Largs, and their crews were attacked on reaching the shore. The fleet sent assistance to them; the Scots gathered aid; more help was needed, and more was sent; till a battle was fought where none would have planned it. No great leader was present with the Scots, but the Norse were driven back to the sea or their shattered fleet, the remnant of which had to work round Cantyre and up by the isles, foul weather still following them, till Haco landed and died at Kirkwall in 1263. Three years after, Magnus ceded Man and all the Hebrides to Alexander for an annual payment of one hundred merks. In 1281, Alexander's daughter Margaret was married to Eric, the son of Magnus; but she died next year, leaving an infant, Margaret, the Maid of Norway.

37. **ALEXANDER'S DEATH.**—In 1272, the able and strong-willed Edward I. succeeded his weak father, Henry III., in England, but peace was maintained between the two countries. Alexander gave homage at Westminster for the lands he held under Edward for

which he said : 'I owe you homage, saving my kingdom.' When the bishop of Norwich added : 'And saving to the king of England, if right he have, your homage for your kingdom,' Alexander at once said aloud : 'To homage for my kingdom of Scotland none but God only has right ; nor do I hold it of any but God alone.' The rest of Alexander's reign was peaceful and prosperous. Just, liberal, and wise, he encouraged commerce and arts, and the country reached a condition perhaps quite as high as that in which we shall find it more than two centuries later. But the brightness was soon clouded, and dark years followed. On the night of March 12, 1286, while riding in the dark, the king's horse stumbled on a rugged cliff near Kinghorn, and the rider was pitched over the rocks and killed. He left no children, and the crown was to go to the Maid of Norway, as had been already settled by the Estates at Scone.

1153-65. MALCOLM IV. ; risings in Galloway and Moray.

1157. Cumberland and Northumberland ceded.

1164. Somerled of the Isles defeated and slain.

1165-1214. WILLIAM THE LION.

1174. William did homage to Henry.

1189. Independence restored by Richard I.

1214-49. ALEXANDER II.

1244. Treaty of Newcastle.

1249-86. ALEXANDER III.

1251. Alexander married Margaret of England.

1263. The Hebrides ceded by Haco.

1286. Alexander killed by a fall from his horse.

VI. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Origin; Division of Lands; Conditions of holding; State of the people.

33. ORIGIN.—Those who now occupy land are either tenants paying a rent for its use, or owners, whose position and wealth may obtain for them much influence, but do not give them any authority in the state, or political power over the people in their districts. It was the same under the old Romans, when a rich landowner might have all that wealth could buy, and yet had no lordship over the people, among whom the poorest officer of the empire might be a much greater man than he. When the empire was broken up, the tribes who seized on the provinces in France and Germany took another plan. The land was the prize which they fought for and kept. To lay it desolate, to plunder the houses and cities, and to slay the people, would have been wasteful folly. The conquering leader might become the prince of the district, but he could not claim all the land as his, nor could he have used it for himself. His officers and followers were not always his own subjects, or even his paid soldiers. They helped him to fight in order to share in the spoil. Some of his officers might have followers as powerful as those he could call his own. So, according to their power or his fears, he parcelled the lands among them, granting, in his own name as the leader, what he could neither have withheld from them, nor have kept to himself.

39. LORDS AND VASSALS.—Each who accepted lands from the leader did homage or became his man (*homme*). Except for this doing fealty or pledging faith (*fé*), they were his equals or *peers*; by this he became their *superior* or *lord-paramount*, and they his *barons* or men. As he divided the whole lands among his *tenants-in-chief*, so these subdivided theirs among their followers or *vassals*. They were not owners, but tenants; and each for his *fief*, or holding in *fee*, was to follow the banner of his lord when required, with a number of men proportionate to his holding,

armed and provided for forty days' service. They were also to assist in his council, and to attend in certain of his courts. Lord and vassal were each to defend the honour and protect the person of the other. The arrangement benefited both. It was good for the under-leader to be able to have his lord's help against a troublesome neighbour, perhaps as great as himself. It was better for the lord to have the swords of these leaders at his service, than to have them turned against himself, or aiding a rival.

40. FIEFS.—A fief might be so large or so distant that the vassal was so little under his lord's control as to be able to defy his power. But the superior could bring him under restraint by investing him, in some district nearer himself, with lands too small to make him dangerous there, but valuable enough to make him loath to lose them. One prince might also give lands in his domain to another independent prince; and, unless great care was taken by the latter, something was apt to be put in the ceremony of homage or the record of investiture, by which the superior, at a favourable opportunity, might claim all the dominion of the vassal. For homage was of two kinds—*liege*, which a sovereign required of a subject; and *simple*, which a greater lord might render to one less than himself, under whom he held land. A female was not admitted as an heir; or if this was allowed, her marriage was directed by the superior, who could dispose of her lands to a person serviceable to himself, or at least prevent them increasing the power of some one already too great.

41. VILLEINS.—This system was suited to the times. Even when all the lands had not been seized and divided, the *allodial* or *simple* owners were often glad to do homage to some powerful chief, and to hold their lands under him, in order to avoid losing them altogether. The rest of the people were *villeins*, and were mostly bound to the soil. Whoever became its owner, became their master, allowing them to work the land so far as to live by it, but at any time and in any way claiming both their labour and their produce for his use or his pleasure. He had also the power of punishing them, even by imprisonment or death. But he could not sell them as slaves. The number of men on a fief determined its value, and it was the interest of the superior to see that these were not reduced. Thus, from the lowest to the

highest, all were bound together in the Feudal System. At first, the fief was the reward and pledge of personal service, and when this was not rendered, the grant was revoked or *forfeited*. When the first holder died, if his son had grown up among his father's retainers into all his father's power, it might be prudent to allow him to hold what he would fight to retain. But he had to do *homage*, receive *investiture*, and pay a *relief*. As the system grew, the customary mode of dealing with matters under it acquired the force of a law binding both superiors and vassals. The latter were less under the personal will or caprice of the superior, but more under the control of the law or the state. Courts, instead of individuals, came to settle matters of dispute, and appeals to the king's court were encouraged.

42. CHECKS ON POWER.—When wealth began to be generally acquired, feudal services came to be redeemed by money. The sum each was to give could neither be fixed nor collected separately. A council had to determine what amount of *tax* was to be raised, and how much the different ranks of tenants were to give. Those who had to pay were allowed a voice in the matter. If they gave the money, the king had often to grant a privilege or remove some complaint. What was once yielded could not always be recalled. The like results came also to the towns, whether these held under the crown or under a baron. The privileges granted to one were sure to be sought by others; and what several obtained could scarcely be denied to the rest. In some states the Feudal System became a complete tyranny—of the king over the vassals, and of these over the people. But in other states, as in our island, the tenants checked the power of the king, and the people that of the tenants; each had to give and take; king, lords, and commons became welded into one government, each retaining great powers, but none of them able to grasp all or to tyrannise over the others.

Feudal System; origin and growth; division and tenure of land.

Lords and vassals; their relations and duties.

Feudal terms; *fiefs*, homage, investiture, forfeiture, fines.

Villeins; different from freemen and from slaves.

Growth of custom into law; courts, taxes, and checks on power.

VIL. FEUDAL SYSTEM IN SCOTLAND.

*Difference from that in England ; Parliament ; Laws ;
Trade ; Burghs ; Farming ; Buildings.*

43. THE SYSTEM IN SCOTLAND.—The Feudal System is commonly said to have been introduced into England by the Norman Conquest. But it is almost certain that it had influence before. It made way into Scotland more slowly, not by conquest but by adoption, with considerable modifications, and without the bitterness of feeling that must exist between proud and foreign victors and the vanquished people—despoiled, distrusted, angry, and oppressed. That in Scotland there was no such sharp distinction between the different classes is shewn by this simple fact: in England, in almost any district, are a great variety of surnames, scarcely one of which was borne by the holders of land or by the nobles ; while in Scotland, the family names are much less varied, in many parts only a very few sufficing for the majority of the people, and none of them peculiar to the working-class, but borne also by families of some standing, either in position or time. There was also less of a central power, for Scotland was long without a real capital, though Alcluyd or Dumbarton was a seat of the Cumbrians ; Innerluchty, near Fort-William, of the Scots ; Inverness, Forteviot, and Abernethy, of the Picts ; Scone, Dunfermline, and Stirling, of the succeeding kings. Many other points of difference are learned from the laws and records. Because the feudal system in Scotland was of gradual growth, and not imposed by conquest, it was in some respects less completely and in others more firmly established than in England ; and many feudal terms and procedures in law and about land were retained in Scotland after they had ceased in England.

44. PARLIAMENTS.—It is not known when parliaments began to be held in Scotland ; but in 1289, an assembly at Birgham, near Coldstream, of ten bishops, twelve earls, twenty-three abbots, eleven priors, and forty-eight barons, declared that no parliament held out of Scotland could treat of its affairs.

Both by David I. and Alexander II. laws were issued 'on the royal authority and power, with the consent and witness of the bishops, earls, and barons; and with the acquiescence of the clergy and people.' How the clergy and people expressed their acquiescence does not appear; but their consent was held desirable, if not necessary, in order to give the laws their full force.

45. OFFICERS OF STATE.—In England, the kingdoms of the Saxons formed several great divisions, and led the way to smaller ones. In Scotland the division into counties was much later. It is almost certain that the great earls and lesser thanes were at first royal officers; but the tendency was to retain in the family the rank and power which were at first merely official and personal. Even some of the sheriffdoms, which were really crown appointments made to check the local powers, became hereditary. From the charters conferring on certain lordships the rights of baronies and regalities, with the power of 'pit and gallows,' it might seem that the king was giving away his proper power, while in reality he was observing and restraining what he could not quite withdraw. These powers of the barons were likewise checked by granting them also to bishoprics and abbeys. In Alexander's time, there were two justiciars—one for the south, and the other for the north of the Forth, or 'Scots Water.'

46. EARLY LAWS.—There was no occasion in Scotland for a Magna Charta, which rather restored lost privileges than granted new ones. That charter clearly decided what were the powers of the king on the one hand, and the rights of the barons and people on the other; for what the latter gained was expressly told, and what the king would not yield he as clearly retained. Back to the twelfth century can be traced the *Regiam Majestatem*, a collection of Scots feudal law, evidently adapted with variations from a work by Glanville, chief-justice of England under Henry II. But there were, besides, the 'customs of the Lothians,' the special laws of Galloway, and the laws of the 'Bretts and Scots.' The latter give the 'cro' or value for life and limb; one thousand cows or three thousand 'arros'* for a king, one hundred and fifty for a prince or earl, one hundred for a thane, down to sixteen for a common man. The cro of a married

* *Arros* are supposed to be shillings.

woman was one-third less than her husband's, and an unmarried woman's the same as her brother's. Elsewhere we find the value for a foot or hand was a mark; for an eye or an ear, half as much; for a tooth, twelve pennies; and twelve pennies for every inch of a wound in length or in breadth. It may seem rude to measure life and limb in money, and to give different rates for different ranks; but in trials for personal injury—by railways, for instance—we still act somewhat in the same way.

47. **CRIMES AND PENALTIES.**—A thief found 'back-bearing,'* or a murderer 'red-hand,' was summarily dealt with. But any one accused could demand trial, or might be 'assoiled' or cleansed by twelve of his neighbours holding him innocent, or he might challenge the accuser. Only, no one was obliged to fight out of his own rank, unless by substitute; and a burghess might not fight a landsman unless outside the burgh. If one suffered wrong from a greater, then, by swearing his ills at the altar, or by the witness of a 'true'† man, he might claim the protection of the king, whose officer took up the plea, and the great man, if convicted, had to make good the wrong, and also pay eight cows to the king. One guilty of stealing what he could carry was to be well beaten, or have his ear cut off before two leal men; but no one was to be hanged for less than two sheep, each worth sixteen-pence. Whoever recovered from hanging was free from further penalty. There was some consideration even for a serf. If he was accused, and his lord would not be 'broch' or bail for him, then, if acquitted, he was a free man. He might also become free by living a year and a day in a free burgh, where he could not be seized during the fair; or by living peaceably for seven years on one man's land. Though the Scots kings had forests, and were great hunters, there were no forest laws or 'king's deer' as in England. If one killed another's watch-dog, he was bound to protect the homestead for a year and a day, and to make good any loss that might meanwhile befall.

48. **THE BURGHS.**—We do not know when burghs began to manage their own affairs, but it was certainly before the time of David I. The royal burghs held immediately from the crown;

* *Back-bearing*, having the stolen goods on his back.

† *True*, a term for which we now use the word *respectable*.

those of barony or regality, under a baron, an abbey, or a royal burgh, as Glasgow under Rutherglen. But all drew naturally to the crown. They had little love for barons and feudal control; and preferred a rule which was distant, steady, and seldom interfering, to that of a baron near at hand and often troublesome. Close connection and common interests united the burgesses, and enabled the many weak to stand up against the singly strong. Nor was each burgh left to itself. The court of the four burghs (Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling) gradually embraced the others, and formed a sort of burgh parliament, which both made and administered laws. The magistrates were elected after Michaelmas, in common consultation, 'through the counsel of the good men of the town, who were leal and of good fame.' Nor were they limited to a class, only, 'they might neither bake bread nor brew ale to sell within their own house, during the time they stood in office.' There were no serfs in the Scots burghs, while in the English towns the common terms of 'the burgesses and the freemen' imply a class that were not free.

49. TRADE.—The towns were the centres and seats of trade. William I. confirmed to all the burgesses of the north what they had held under David I.—'a free *ansus*,* where and when they would.' There was trade in peltrey and skins; chiefly those of the marten, beaver, and sable. These were imported luxuries, as were also the following commodities—pepper, ginger, almonds, figs, and raisins. There were numerous hotels or taverns. Bakers had then white bread as well as gray. There must have been pastry-cooks, for fleshers were not to exercise that trade. There were even regulations for securing right cookery; and if we have not such regulations now, it is not because they are unnecessary, but because they would be unworkable. We know there were bridges across the principal rivers; and among the roads, though some are called the 'green road,' we find 'the highway,' 'the king's road,' and the 'causey;' while at least five kinds of vehicles are mentioned. The merchant guilds were at first associations for trading, though they afterwards acquired much power, and excluded mere craftsmen, by providing that 'neither lytster (dyer), fleshier, nor souter (shoemaker) may be

* *Ansus*, a right of uniting for trade; like *hanse* in the 'Hanse towns.'

in the freedom of the guild, unless he shall forswear to do that craft with his own hands, and only with servants under him.'

50. AGRICULTURE.—From the records of the monasteries, we get an insight into the state of farming, which was better on theirs than on other lands. - The monks of Kelso had a large *grange* or farm-steading. Near it were the mill, and the village of thirty or forty cottar families, each with a cottage and one to nine acres of land, for which the yearly rent was six shillings, and a service on the monks' farm of not more than nine days. Beyond the cottars' town were the steadings of the husbandmen, each husband-land being twenty-six acres or more. The 'bonnet-lairds' were a higher class, holding their lands in heritage. Gardens and gardeners are mentioned in the time of Alexander III., when 'a boll of atis pennys four of Scottis monē past not o'er; a boll of bere for eight or ten, in common prys sauld was then; for sextene a boll of quhetes.'

51. BUILDINGS.—Of the buildings of the period few remain, except those that are ecclesiastical. With all our wealth, we cannot build better churches than these, and we never build them so large. The carvings in wood, the sculptures in stone and marble, the work in lead and iron, the painting and staining, and (what is far more) the whole design and fitness of the parts, are as yet unsurpassed. We have a few great baronial buildings of the period. The castles of Caerlaverock, Hermitage, Bothwell, Dirleton, and Kildrummy, the oldest and best, are of Norman construction, though differing from the Norman castles of England. Castle Swein and Dunstaffnage, inferior, but scarcely less old, are probably Norse imitations of the Norman. The numerous square towers of ruder construction are of a much later and worse period. The forts were not proper castles, but unfortified buildings on detached rocks, or within fortified ramparts. From the frequency with which whole towns were burned, and from the stringent regulations against fires, it seems that most of the burgh dwellings were mainly of wood. Roxburgh, Haddington, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, and Aberdeen were burnt 'to ashes' in 1244. The walls were probably of a stout double framework, filled with turf, earth, or coarse mortar, as might be found both in the Highlands and in midland England till nearly a century ago.

Feudal system in Scotland ; how it differed from that in England ; family names ; capitals.

Parliaments and those who composed them.

Officers, personal and hereditary ; powers of the latter.

Early laws in different districts ; values for injury or loss of life.

Crimes ; theft ; protection for the accused, the oppressed, and the serf.

Burghs ; their privileges, power, and management.

Commerce ; articles, trades, roads, guilds.

Farming ; cottars, husbandmen, bonnet lairds, price of grain.

Buildings ; churches, castles, forts, burgh dwellings.

VIII. DISPUTED SUCCESSION : 1286-96.

Treaty with Edward ; Competitors for the throne ; Baliol appointed ; Edward takes Scotland.

52. TREATY OF BIRGHAM.—The Estates met at Scone, and appointed six guardians—a bishop and two barons for each side of the Forth. If Edward had been overlord of Scotland, the guardianship belonged to him ; but all he as yet sought was the marriage of his son Edward to the young queen. To this the Scots were not averse. The great families related to the royal house were more Normans than Scots, and it was thought there would probably be no more oppression and less contention, with the powerful Edward as father-in-law to the queen, than if the control of her power and person was fought for by Norman families nearly equal in power. By the treaty of Birgham (1289), Scotland was to be kept a realm separate from England ; its rights, laws, and liberties were to remain entire and inviolate ; no crown vassal was to go forth of Scotland to do homage to a sovereign residing in

England; no Scot was to answer beyond the marches in a civil cause or for a crime done in Scotland; and the great seal was always to be held by a native. Edward soon excited suspicion. He demanded, but was denied, the possession of the royal forts. Meanwhile, Margaret died at Orkney on her way home (1290), and several competitors for the crown appeared.

53. THE COMPETITORS.—Next year, in June, Edward held a great meeting at Norham Castle, on the Tweed. Most of the competitors appeared, with many others from Scotland, but the Estates were not formally represented. Edward asked those present to acknowledge his superiority; but the Scots wished to consult their prelates, nobles, and community. Three weeks were allowed, and the next meeting was in a meadow on the Scots side of the river. The prelates and barons did not oppose Edward's claim, but the community did so in a writing, of which we only know that it was disregarded by Edward. There were ten chief claimants—1. John de Baliol; 2. Robert de Brus; 3. John Comyn of Badenoch; 4. Florence, Count of Holland; 5. John de Hastings, Lord Abergavenny; 6. Nicholas de Soulis; 7. Patric de Dunbar, Earl of March; 8. William de Ros; 9. Robert de Pinkeny; 10. William de Vesci. Most of them held lands in England as well as in Scotland, where they were distrusted as aliens and Normans. As all the competitors acknowledged Edward's claims, the more numerous they were, the less chance was there of successful opposition to his title of Lord Superior. The Count of Holland was a descendant of Ada, sister of William the Lion; and four represented his brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon, who left three daughters, *Margaret, Isobel,*

and *Ada*. Margaret had married Allan of Galloway, and had two daughters. The one, Devergoil, became the wife of John Baliol, a wealthy Yorkshire baron, whose son claimed the throne; and the other, Marjory, was married to John Comyn. The second daughter, Isobel, whose son now claimed, was married to Robert de Bruce, who held lands in England, and was lord of Annandale. *Ada*, the third daughter, was represented by Hastings. By the principle of succession now settled, Baliol, grandson and heir of the eldest daughter, had the right to succeed; but Bruce held that he, as the *son* of the second daughter, was nearer than the *grandson* of the first, and that Alexander II. while yet childless, had named him as the nearest male heir and successor.

54. THE DECISION.—At Edward's request, Baliol and Bruce each chose forty arbiters, to whom Edward added twenty-four; but their decision could not bind the Scottish nation, or even the other competitors. Edward then broke the great seal of Scotland, and substituted a new one. He got the royal forts into his keeping, and added to the number of guardians, enjoining them to exact an oath of allegiance from the people of their districts within fifteen days. He also collected and carried off the records of the kingdom, though it does not seem that any of them were wilfully destroyed. The eighty arbiters being asked by what law judgment should be given, wished for more time and counsel; and at next meeting Edward's twenty-four said that by the law of England the progeny of the elder must be exhausted first. So Baliol was chosen in November 1292, doing 'homage as justly due to Edward as lord-superior of Scotland.' But the Scots would have no servant of Edward to rule over

them. Nor if they would, did Edward allow him to rule, but encouraged appeals to his own courts. Baliol pleaded the treaty of Birgham, but was forced to renounce it for himself and his heirs; and was cited to Westminster, where he had to stand at the bar like a private man. Curiously enough, in 1294, Philip of France cited Edward as his vassal, and pronounced against him for contumacy in not appearing. This was an opportunity for the Scots, who formed a league with France, and made two raids across the Border.

55. EDWARD IN SCOTLAND.—Edward marched north with 30,000 foot and 5000 mounted men-at-arms, superiority in the latter then reckoning as in artillery now. Berwick was taken and remorselessly treated; the Scots were defeated at Dunbar, and its castle was captured. From Holyrood, he sent to Durham the Black Rood, or Holy Cross; and from Edinburgh Castle he took whatever he thought worth, though no regalia are mentioned. The coronation-stone at Scone, held in special veneration, he sent to Westminster. In 1296, Baliol came to Edward as a submissive vassal, gave up his crown, and, after a few years, settled on his French estates. Edward left Scotland in charge of those who had nothing in common with it—Warene, Earl of Surrey, as governor; Hugh Cressingham, as treasurer; and Ormsby, as justiciar. But the Scots were sullen and distrustful, and the English soldiery haughty and insolent. Any spark might rouse the country. The Lowlands were largely peopled by those who, to escape oppression, had left old homes—the early Saxons, the Norse, and the later Saxons. They were fain to fight, but who was to lead them? How many races have fallen, when the hour came without the man!

- 1289. Treaty of Birgham, guarding Scottish independence.
- 1290. Margaret died in Orkney on her way home.
- 1291. The ten chief competitors met with Edward.
- 1292. Baliol accepted the kingdom as Edward's vassal.
- 1296. Baliol, after opposing Edward, yielded and resigned.

Edward seeks a marriage between his son and Margaret; the Scots consent, but guard against English interference; on Margaret's death, many competitors arise, and Edward assumes to decide. Claims of chief competitors, and selection of Baliol, who accepts as vassal of Edward. Disliked by the Scots, and ill-treated by Edward, Baliol first rebels and then resigns. Edward treats Scotland as a conquered country.



**CORONATION CHAIR OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,
KEPT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY :**

Beneath the seat is the 'Stone of Destiny,' carried off from Scone by Edward I.
in 1296.

IX. WALLACE: 1297-1305.

His rise and work; Victory at Stirling; Defeat at Falkirk; Capture and death.

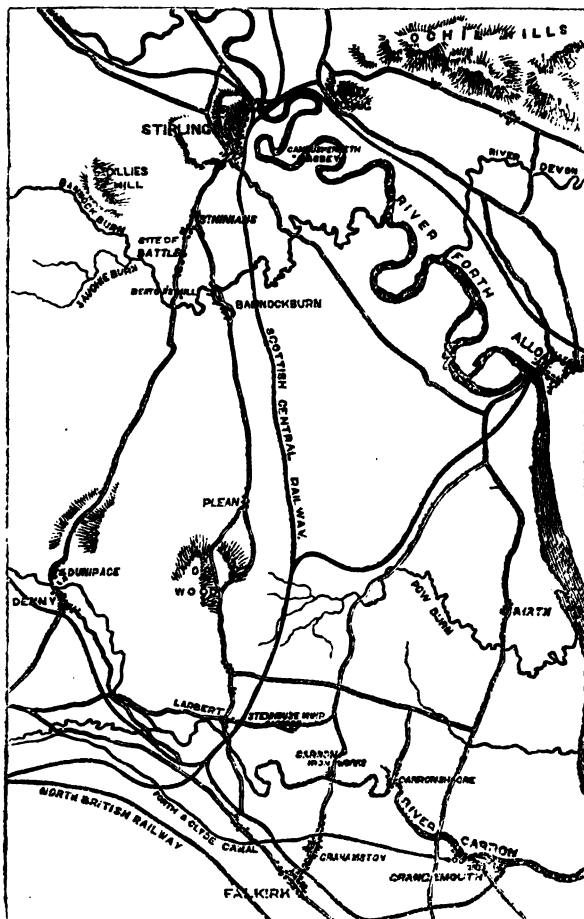
56. WALLACE, THE LEADER.—Sir William Wallace, the hero of Scotland, was the son of the knight of Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire. Himself a knight also, he was, even by feudal etiquette, as fit to lead an army as any noble or prince. If Norman, as the name would indicate, he differed from most of the other Normans, who were new to the country, and were less disposed to stand for its defence, than to make its interests serve their own ambition. Harry, the blind minstrel, told his story nearly two hundred years after, mixing it with much that is plainly impossible, and adapting the true to the tastes of his hearers. The popular mind can better appreciate and admire personal daring and feats of gigantic strength, than the higher gifts which Wallace possessed as the general and the statesman. He had married a virtuous woman named Bradfute, who lived in Lanark, then garrisoned by the English. Wallace, already a marked man, could only visit her occasionally. One day, some soldiers met and ridiculed him; this he bore with good-humour, till one cast a foul jest at his wife, when Wallace cut him down. A scuffle followed; he was joined by some of his countrymen, but the English were too many, and the Scots had to flee. In the pursuit, Wallace's own door was opened by his wife; he escaped through the house, but she was cruelly slain. Gathering some daring men, he made a night attack, overpowered

the English, and recovered the town. With growing numbers, he harassed outlying posts; and his prowess, local knowledge, and skill made him a formidable foe. In a very short time he cleared the English out of the south-west, fell by night on the garrison of Ayr and fired their quarters, and nearly captured the justiciar at Scone. William of Douglas, who had commanded at Berwick, joined him for a while; but his position was difficult. The country had long been without serious war; the natural leaders were neither friendly nor trusted; there was no king, and yet the great work was hampered, by making its course run in his name and interests. The feudal system could neither be worked nor set aside. By no means could he raise any force of the mail-clad riders who then formed the real fighting power of an army, and a small body of whom had beaten off all the assaults of David's great host at the battle of the Standard; and he had, therefore, in the face of his enemies, to work out a new system of war.

57. BATTLE OF STIRLING, 1297.—Edward was starting for Flanders, but ordered Warenne to levy all the array north of the Trent. An army of 40,000 marched north by Lochmaben, and at Irvine received the submission of Bruce, Douglas, and other barons. This Bruce, grandson of the competitor, and Earl of Carrick in right of his mother, was young, able, and ardent. Distrusted both by the English and the Scots, he chafed at inaction, and called for a muster of his followers. His father's men of Annandale refused his summons, but his own men of Carrick came at his call; yet whatever he had intended was laid aside for a while. Wallace was raising the Lowlanders of the north-east, had taken many of the strongholds, and was

besieging the castle of Dundee, when he heard that the English were making for Stirling Bridge. He took up his position in a loop of the Forth, between the Abbey of Cambuskenneth and the Abbey Craig, from the back of which a neck of rugged ground running to the Ochils afforded a line of retreat. On September 11, the English poured over the narrow bridge from an early hour till about noon, when Wallace sent a body of his men to seize the head of the bridge. The front of the English tried to get back while the rear pressed on, and the main body of the Scots made an onset on those who had crossed. A small body of the English recovered the bridge, but the opening was crowded for retreat, and not for advance. The disorder and rout were complete. Cressingham was among the slain, and the Scots flayed his body, distributing small portions of the skin as memorials of revenge. The moral consequences of the victory were the most important. It shewed that the iron-clad riders were not invincible; and, amid many disasters, the Scots never lost the hope that, having beaten the English once, they might beat them again. More strongholds were taken, Berwick was recovered, and the Hanse Towns were advised that trade with Scotland might be resumed. This shews the importance attached to commerce, and the growth it had attained. It is long before any mention of commerce again occurs in Scottish history.

58. THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK, 1298.—A famine fell on the land, and the Scots crossed the Border for food and vengeance. Edward hastened from Flanders, received grants from his parliament, and raised 80,000 foot and 7500 mounted men-at-arms. Wallace could muster only one-third of this number, with about 1000 horsemen.



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE BATTLES OF STIRLING, FALKIRK, BANNOCKBURN, AND SAUCHIE.

His plan was to sweep from before the English whatever they could turn to their use; to avoid a battle which he could not hope to win; to hang near them, harass them as he could, and prevent them dividing their host for the sake of supplies; and so let starvation compel their retreat, or secure their destruction. Edward had some trouble with Dirleton Castle, found the rich Lothians a desert, and was thinking of retreat, when two Scots knights sent a boy to him at Kirkliston, to tell where Wallace might be found near Falkirk. He passed the night at Linlithgow, and next day attacked the Scots. Wallace drew up on a gentle slope, with his horsemen in the rear, and his footmen disposed in circles, archers within and spearmen around, to receive the charge of the English cavalry. For a time victory was doubtful, but the circles were broken by repeated charges, and the rest was less a battle than a slaughter. Wallace carried off a small body of men, and passed by Stirling, which he was too weak to hold. Edward made little by his victory, and dragged his half-starved army back to Carlisle.

59. SCOTLAND HUMBLD.—Wallace resigned his office as leader and guardian. He probably went to France, and possibly to Rome. France for some time pleaded well for Scotland, but in 1303 left Edward to do as he might. Fortunately, both from patriotism and interest, the Scots church was hostile to him. He had ordered that every living worth forty merks a year should be given to Englishmen only; and the Scots clergy managed to make the court of Rome understand and plead the cause of Scotland. In 1300, the pope sent Edward a bull, shewing with great clearness and precision the injustice of his claims. After a long and difficult pursuit after the king,

this was delivered to him by the archbishop of Canterbury, at Caerlaverock Castle, which Edward had besieged with a great army, who must have been surprised when only sixty men, all much spent, at length walked forth as prisoners. In the spring of 1303, an English army lay in three divisions near Edinburgh. The Scots from the uplands of Peebles and Lanark surprised one division at Roslin; the second, on coming to aid, was also defeated; and the third could barely cover the retreat of the other two. But in the same year, Edward advanced to the north with an army too large for serious opposition. Only Stirling Castle now held out. How nobly it was held may be learned from the boasts of the English as to the valour, the skill, and the resources of their own army. Towers were erected, from which stones of two or three hundredweight were cast against the defence; and the churches, as far as St Andrews and Brechin, were stripped of lead for balls. After three months, 140 men, including 24 of superior rank, came forth with ropes round their neck, but found some mercy even from Edward, and were only cast into English prisons.

60. FATE OF WALLACE.—All seemed lost. Comyn, the chief guardian, and most of those who had been in arms, surrendered, and were admitted to mercy. But Wallace was to remain at the king's will and grace. For his capture in Glasgow, one hundred pounds were given to Menteith, governor of Dumbarton; forty merks to the 'valet who spied him;' and sixty among the others. He was sent to London; as an outlaw, was not allowed to plead; was condemned for treason and rebellion; and suffered the horrible doom which had been invented for David of Wales in 1283. On August 23, 1305, he was

drawn to the gibbet on a hurdle ; was hanged, but cut down before he was dead ; his bowels were cut out and burned before his face ; his head was struck off, and set on London Bridge ; and his body was quartered, and exposed at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. Edward thought to strike terror into every resisting Scot, but he only deepened the resolution to do or to die. There had been at first no real enmity between the English and Scots ; but twelve years of ruthless war had made union impossible and hatred deep. Yet Edward now resolved to make Scotland not a feudatory, but a part of England.

1297. Wallace as leader ; victory at Stirling.

1298. Wallace attacked and defeated near Falkirk.

1300. The Pope, in a bull, rebuked Edward's pretensions.

1303. The Scots gain three successes at Roslin.

1305. Wallace betrayed, condemned, and executed.

Wallace the hero of Scotland ; his rapid success ; moral effects of his victory at Stirling ; difficulties of his position ; plan of operations ; defeat at Falkirk ; betrayal and execution ; sympathy of France, Rome, and the Scots clergy ; noble defence of Caerlaverock and Stirling.



X. THE BRUCE: 1306-1307.

Quarrel with Comyn; Coronation; Hardships and perils.

61. A NEW LEADER.—Bruce was the grandson of the claimant who had died in 1295. His father, a quiet man, who had made a romantic marriage with the Countess of Carrick, died in 1304. The son, born in 1274, had been trained in the court of Edward, who treated him personally with much favour, but held him, as a Scottish leader, in uncertain distrust. We have seen him already restless but undecided. In 1304, he and Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, formed a league at Cambuskenneth, binding themselves by oath and pains to stand by each other, to give warning of danger to either, and to undertake no serious affair without mutual counsel. Somehow the bond came into the hands of Edward, who spoke in terms boding ill to Bruce. His friend Gloucester gave him warning, by sending him a purse and a pair of spurs. Taking the hint, he fled north next morning, with two followers, reversing the horses' shoes, that the traces on the snow might seem to lead to London instead of from it. He halted at Dumfries, near his own estates at Lochmaben. The English were holding an assize, and the Red Comyn was also present. Comyn was nearer the throne than Bruce, and was, besides, the son of Baliol's sister. He had also done far more for the national cause, though now he had made submission to Edward. The two met in the church of the Greyfriars. Speaking of the unhappy state of Scotland, Bruce proposed that they should unite in its aid. 'Take my lands,

and help me to be king ; or give me yours, and I will help you.' Comyn pleaded his peace with Edward. Bruce charged him with revealing his affairs. Angry words arose, and Bruce struck him with his dagger. Issuing from the church, his friends saw something was wrong. 'I doubt I have slain Comyn,' said Bruce. 'I mak siccar,' cried Kilpatrick of Closeburn, and slew the wounded man at the altar. The heinousness of the affair was its sacrilege ; twenty murders elsewhere were then held as nothing to one death in the church, or one blow at the altar. Yet immediate danger to Bruce was not what was most to be feared ; for besides his Carrick castle of Turnberry, he had the strong fortress of Lochmaben, and the still stronger of Kildrummy on the Don.

62. BRUCE CROWNED.—Comyn was slain in February, and Bruce was crowned at Scone on March 27, 1306. From the time of Malcolm Canmore, it had been the right of the Macduff to put the crown on the head of the new sovereign. The Macduff kept back, but his sister bravely took his place, though she was married to a Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, a staunch retainer of Edward. When she afterwards fell into Edward's power, he stained his manhood and his chivalry by confining her in a cage fixed to the walls of Berwick, exposed to the scorn or the unavailing pity of those who passed. Edward, who was at Winchester, sent off Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with forces. Proclamation was made in every town that all in arms were to be pursued, while those who did not join in pursuit would suffer forfeiture and imprisonment ; that all taken in arms were to be hanged or beheaded ; and that all concerned in the death of Comyn were to be hanged and drawn. Valence surprised

Bruce's small army at Methven ; and after the capture of Bruce's castle at Kildrummy, his brother Nigel, with several relatives and nobles, who had been taken prisoners, were executed. His queen and daughter were imprisoned in England.

63. **EDWARD'S DEATH.**—Edward himself collected a large army, to make an end, once for all, of the perversity of the Scots. All jousts and tournaments were forbidden till Scotland was punished. To this end, by the most solemn vows, he devoted his remaining days ; and exacted from others a vow, that if he died in the enterprise, his bones should go with the army, which was not to return till his purpose was fulfilled. But he died July 7, 1307, at Burgh-on-Sands, on the Solway, within sight of Scotland, and was buried in the chapel of Edward at Westminster, beside his wife Eleanor. Edward II., after advancing some distance into Scotland, abandoned the expedition, and returned to England.

64. **PERILS OF BRUCE.**—For some time we can scarcely trace Bruce. Young Douglas, the 'good Lord James,' had joined him, a true man, a brave soldier, and—of no little value in emergencies—an excellent hunter and fisher. Sometimes the king's great difficulty was to keep his followers quiet, and to restrain them from a conflict in which even success would be dearly bought, by reducing the numbers of a band already too small. At one time he had to make dangerous excursions, in order to ward off a danger or repair a loss he himself would have avoided ; at another, he had to battle against fearful odds, and then to flee and hide for his life. The first to think of others, and the last to care for himself, when surprised by foes,

he had often to disperse his followers in different directions, seeing to their safety as far as he could, and then shifting for himself as best he might. On horse and in armour, he made short work with even several good foemen; and his armour aside, no mountaineer was more alert and enduring. Not easily elated, he was never quite cast down. In the worst of times, his cheery banter and knightly tale lifted the gloom from his followers; and to woman, he bore himself with true gentleness and courtesy. After passing through Athole, he came on the border of the country of John of Lorn. These west-coast chiefs, whether Celt or Norse, were no friends to a king of Scots, and Lorn was, besides, a relative of Comyn. Near Tyn-drum, between Loch Awe and Loch Tay, the Highlanders swarmed to attack him. It was no place for mounted knights to charge loose, lithe, and hardy mountaineers. Bruce moved his band away, himself covering their retreat through the glen. At a narrow pass, two brothers and a comrade, who had sworn to take his life, sprung upon him. One clung to the horse's head; another put his hands between the stirrup and boot, to unhorse the rider; and the third sprung behind, to aid the attempt of the second. Bruce stood straight up in his stirrup, and the power of his limb pinned the hands of the second; he cut down the one before, broke the head of the one behind, and dragging the second at his heel, despatched him in turn. He passed part of the winter in the isle of Rathlin, off the north of Ireland, while he was reported to be dead. He next appeared in Arran, watching an opportunity to land in Carrick (1307). Having surprised and taken his own castle of Turnberry, he had to withdraw before superior forces, but soon after defeated Pembroke at Loudon Hill.

1304. League of Bruce and Lamberton.

1306. Comyn slain ; Bruce crowned at Scone.

1307. Bruce's landing in Carrick ; death of Edward I.

Bruce, grandson of competitor ; indecision ; league with Lamberton ; threatened by Edward ; warned by Gloucester ; meeting with Comyn.

Bruce crowned by Countess of Buchan ; cruelty of Edward ; defeated at Methven ; perils and wanderings of Bruce ; pass at Tyndrum ; hiding in Rathlin ; landing in Carrick ; defeat of Pembroke.

XI. INDEPENDENCE : 1307-14.

Relief or surrender of Stirling ; Bannockburn, position, eve of battle, victory.

65. FAVOURABLE TURN.—Bruce grew in power. The chief stand against him was near Inverury, in 1308, by Comyn of Buchan and an English force. Bruce was on a sick-bed, but nothing could keep him from the sound of the battle, and the excitement and victory proved better than medicine. The enemy were scattered, and the pursuit was long known as the harrying of Buchan. One after another of the fortresses fell to him, often taken by a rising in the district. Most of them were of an old and worthless type, and were generally destroyed, as Bruce had neither money nor time to renew them, and could not spare forces for scattered garrisons. The bishops generally declared for him, though most of them had several times sworn to Edward, and Bruce was yet under the pope's excommunication for killing Comyn. At last, only Stirling was held by the English. Hard

pressed by the king's brother Edward, Mowbray, the governor, engaged to surrender if not relieved by St John's Day, June 24, 1314. Though his brother's agreement was more chivalrous than wise, Bruce would not break it. So a great battle was fixed, and the time, and the place. For the English must relieve Stirling, or lose all; and the Scots must await them there. They could not meet them on the way, for the enemy might outflank them, relieve Stirling, and carry on the war as they pleased. Fortunately, the field was about as good as the Scots could have chosen.



STIRLING CASTLE.

66. BANNOCKBURN.—Stirling Castle stands on a trap-rock, rising out of the flat carse, and precipitous on all sides but the east. To the south, the ground quickly rises into spurs of the Campsie Fells, neither very high nor steep, but affording good defensive positions. Had it only been required to meet an attack, there would have

been little difficulty. But at the east there was flat ground, by which the English might push forward relief. Edward could only approach from the south-east, and Bruce took up his position facing in that direction. His line lay nearly along the present road from Stirling to Kilsyth. The right wing, furthest to the south, was commanded by his brother Edward, with some cavalry under Keith, the mareschal; the centre, by Douglas and the Steward of Scotland; the left by Randolph of Moray. The king, with a body of mounted men, held the reserve behind the others. The *bore-stone* for his standard was near the crossing of the Kilsyth road by the Bannock, whose steep, rugged, and wooded banks protected the right wing to the south-west. In the level ground in front of the centre and left the Scots dug numerous pits, which they covered with turf and brushwood.

67. EVE OF BATTLE.—The two armies came in sight of each other on the evening of the 23d of June. Bruce had about 30,000 men, not equal to the number of the men-at-arms in Edward's army of 100,000, so splendidly apparelled, with gorgeous surtouts, polished armour, and gay banners, that the grandeur of its appearance, in the light of the evening sun, still lives in tradition. By position and express command, Randolph was to protect the approach to Stirling. Under cover of some gravelly knolls, between the edge of the carse and the rising ground, 800 of the English horsemen were stealthily advancing. To this the king, whose position took the whole field in view, directed Randolph's attention, sharply reproving his want of care. Smarting under the rebuke, and burning to retrieve so grave an error, Randolph hastened with a small body of spearmen, and

placed them in a circle to stay the enemy. From a distance they seemed doomed; Douglas moved to the rescue; a nearer view shewed that Randolph could hold his own; and Douglas, checking his advance, left the honour to those who were bravely winning it. On the same evening, distinguished by a gold circlet round his head, not in full armour on his war-horse, but only on a palfrey, Bruce passed along his lines. Henry de Bohun rode out from the English ranks and challenged him. Bruce accepted, waited the charge, swerved aside from the thrust of the lance, raised himself in his stirrups, and cleft Bohun with his battle-axe, the handle breaking with the force of the blow. His attendants justly blamed him for his rashness, and he did not excuse himself. Yet no man knew better than Bruce what he could or could not do, with or against any weapons; and he probably felt that the effect on both armies of such an opening stroke was worth all the risk.

68. THE BATTLE, 1314.—In the morning, the Scots knelt along their line in prayer. ‘See,’ cried Edward, ‘they cry mercy.’ ‘Yes,’ said one of his knights who knew them better, ‘but not of you.’ Bruce, like Wallace, disposed his men in circles to receive the charge of the enemy’s horse. At break of day, the English bowmen, little hindered by the nature of the ground, began the attack, and raked the lines of Bruce; but the Scots horse charged on their flank and rear, and dispersed them. The English horse advanced in ten divisions, but the ground would not allow of separate movements, and the whole became mixed in one unwieldy mass. The Scottish spearmen stood firm; the wounded steeds of the English became unmanageable; the front was

checked while the mass pressed forward ; confusion increased, and the charge wavered and failed. Bruce's line advanced ; and behind it, over the crest of the Gillies' Hill, appeared a body of camp-followers, who were taken for a fresh army. The English broke into helpless and hopeless rout. The pitted fields, avoided in the orderly advance, were fatal to the disorderly fugitives. More English were left on the field than all the Scots brought to it. A rout so total and unexpected never befell an English army. All command was lost ; and no rally was attempted, though a force remained sufficient to have made two armies, each not unequal to Bruce's. The foot dispersed, to perish in the wilds or fall by the hands of the peasants. The cavalry rode right for England, though the Scots had not one horseman to chase a score of them. Only five hundred knights kept with the king in his flight ; and a strange sight it must have been to the Lothians, to see them riding for their lives before Douglas with sixty men in pursuit. Edward found refuge with the Earl of March in Dunbar, and escaped in a fishing-boat to England. The booty left behind was enormous and costly. Still more valuable was the ransom of the captives. Bruce's wife and daughter, prisoners for eight years in England, were restored to him. He treated his captives with the courtesy of a knight and the generosity of a king ; and caused the slain of several noble families to be interred with full rites, and others to be sent, with decent ceremony, to rest in their family vaults. A Carmelite friar had been brought by Edward to see the battle and celebrate his triumph ; and the Scots, with much humour, made the price of his ransom a poem in honour of the real victors.

1308. Comyns defeated at Inverury ; harrying of Buchan.
1313. Siege of Stirling ; conditions of surrender.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn.
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Bruce grew in power ; reduced the Comyns ; was supported by the Church ; recovered all the fortresses except Stirling, which was to surrender if not relieved.

Bruce's position at Bannockburn required both to withstand Edward and cover Stirling ; arrangements to compensate for small numbers and want of cavalry.

Eve of battle ; combat with Bohun ; charge and rout of the English ; flight of Edward ; booty and ransoms.

XII. WAR AND PEACE : 1315-29.

*Ireland ; Berwick ; The Pope ; Raid of Douglas ;
Bruce's vow, and death.*

69. INVASION OF IRELAND.—Bruce's work was not yet done. He had to settle his kingdom, well nigh ruined by twelve years' war and misrule ; to recover and hold Berwick ; to induce the court of Rome to restore its favour and revoke the excommunication ; and to make England acknowledge his rule and renounce all claim of superiority. In 1315, the chieftains of Ulster offered to make Bruce's brother Edward their king, if he would drive out the English. With a considerable force he landed at Carrickfergus, overran Ulster, was crowned in 1316, but fell in battle at Dundalk in 1318. He had fought well for Scotland, and Bruce's daughter had resigned to him her right of succession ; but with his brother's valour, he lacked his wisdom, and was as

rash in getting into trouble as brave in fighting out of it.

70. BERWICK.—After being held twenty years by the English, Berwick was recovered by the Scots with more ease than they expected. They then called a Fleming, named Crab, to aid them as engineer in its defence. Edward made great preparations to retake it. He encamped on the Scots side, and moved forward great wooden towers, both landward and seaward, to overtop and batter the walls. From one of these, called the 'Sow,' the English had great expectations; but a huge stone from one of Crab's engines shattered it; and the garrison jocularly jeered the men who with difficulty escaped from the broken tower. The siege was raised by the Scots making a raid into Yorkshire, where, in 1319, they defeated an army raised by the archbishop, and in which were so many ecclesiastics that the battle was known as 'the chapter of Mitton.' The country was so wasted that above sixty villages and towns were freed from taxes. A truce was then made for two years.

71. THE POPE RECONCILED.—It was of the utmost importance to regain the favour of the pope. The religious life of the nation was still fed by Rome; the king and court were piously inclined; the clergy were awkwardly placed between the claims of patriotism and church discipline; and the English said they could not treat with excommunicated men. For some time the efforts made were unsuccessful. The pope indeed sent a letter to the king, exhorting to peace; but it was addressed to Robert Bruce, governing in Scotland. He refused to open a document which might be better claimed by others of the name; and, when the messengers said that the court

of Rome was unwilling to use terms committing it to a side, he replied that this was exactly what had been done in withholding his title of king. At last a memorial was drawn up by the nobles, to which no clerical names were attached, as perhaps they could not well be. It stated their case and claims with great ability, in terms which, while thoroughly loyal to Rome, were equally plain and firm. Randolph was sent with it; and though hitherto known only as a soldier, he proved a most able ambassador, and succeeded in his mission.

72. RAID INTO ENGLAND.—Bruce pressed England for peace and good understanding between the two nations. The English also wanted peace, but this the Scots would not let them have without the acknowledgment of their independence: so, the borders of both lands were wasted for years. In 1322, Edward invaded Scotland; but the Scots bared the country before him, avoided a battle, harassed the enemy, followed his retreat into England, and nearly captured Edward in Yorkshire. The last great raid was made on the accession of Edward III. in 1327. Moray and Douglas rode into England with 24,000 men, mounted on light horses, burdened with no camp furniture, but each carrying some oatmeal and a thin plate of iron on which to fire the cakes. What more they wanted they took from the enemy. The English drew out above 60,000 men, with heavy accoutrements and burdened train. In vain they followed, now here, now there, the track of burning homesteads. They lost both the Scots and themselves. When they found themselves half-way between Newcastle and Carlisle, they offered a reward of knighthood and an estate of one hundred pounds a year to any one who

would lead them to the Scots. The latter good-humouredly sent a prisoner whom they had taken, to gain the reward, and to tell that they had been waiting the English for a week. Posted on a ridge behind the Wear, where attack was vain, the Scots were challenged to come down and fight on fair ground. They could not see any fitness in this, and said that they were wasting at their will in the lands of the king of England, who should come and punish them if he could. The English tried to starve them out; but on the morning of the fourth day they found the ridge empty, and the Scots in a better position, four miles off. The blockade again began. One night the Douglas broke the dull sameness. With 200 followers, he crept round the English camp, rushed in with his war-cry, reached the royal tent, nearly captured the king, and cut his way out with but little loss. When eighteen days had passed, it was held that the Scots must now fight or surrender; but in the morning they were miles off before they were missed. Their camp shewed how far from starvation they were. In it were found 500 slaughtered cattle which they could not drive away; 300 skin cauldrons, with meat and water ready for boiling; 1000 spits with beef ready for roasting; and 10,000 pairs of old shoes made of undressed hides. In this raid the Scots were first opposed with fire-arms, or 'crackys of war.' The land was weary of such strife. The northern counties, seeing that the king of England could not protect them, and remembering their old connection with Scotland, were inclined to renew it. The English parliament at York fully acknowledged the independence of Scotland; the treaty was signed at Edinburgh and Northampton; and among other things, the 'black rood' was restored (1328).

73. BRUCE DIES.—The task of the good old king was accomplished. When he was hard beset he had vowed that if God would give him a happy issue from his troubles, he would carry his arms against the infidels in the Holy Land. His labours were ended, but so was his strength. And now he charged the faithful Douglas to take up his vow, and to carry his heart where he himself could not go. He died in his castle of Cardross, on the Clyde, June 7, 1329; and the land mourned and wept, for all knew that a prince and a great man had fallen that day. His body was laid in the choir of the Abbey of Dunfermline; and the good Lord James, with a fit retinue, set out for Jerusalem, with the heart in a casket hung from his neck. Turning aside on his way to assist Alphonso of Castile against the Moors of Granada, and surrounded by the foe, he cast the casket before him. 'Onward as thou wert wont, noble heart! Douglas will follow thee.' The bearer was slain (1330), but the heart of Bruce was recovered, and deposited in the church of Melrose Abbey.

1315-18. Edward Bruce sought a crown in Ireland.

1319. Siege of Berwick; 'chapter of Mitton.'

1322. Invasion by Edward II.

1327. Great raid into England by Douglas and Moray.

1329. Bruce's death at Cardross; burial at Dunfermline.

1330. Douglas fell in Spain.

Berwick recovered; the pope's reconciliation gained by Randolph; invasion by Edward II.; raid into England by Douglas and Moray's army of light horsemen; use of fire-arms; Bruce died, charging Douglas to bear his heart to the Holy Land.

XIII. DAVID II.: 1329-71.

*Family feuds; Berwick lost; Neville's Cross;
'The Black Death.'*

74. FAMILY FEUDS.—Bruce left by his first wife a daughter, Marjory, married to Walter Fitz-Allan, the Steward of Scotland; and by his second wife, David, a boy of five years, and two daughters. David II. was crowned at Scone, and anointed by the bishop of St Andrews. This was the first anointing of a Scots king, and was by special bull of the pope. The regency was held till 1332 by Randolph; then for a short time by Bruce's nephew, the Earl of Mar; next by the son of Wallace's friend, Murray of Bothwell; and in 1338, by Robert, then High Steward. We have seen families holding lands in both countries; and many siding with England had lost their estates in Scotland, and some Scots had lost theirs in England. By the treaty of Northampton, these were to be restored. The Percies and Douglasses recovered theirs. But few families stood as they formerly did. There was an unwillingness to take from those who had helped the nation, and to give to those who had not. Equally discontented were they who had not recovered all, and they who could not retain all. The government was neither wise nor strong, and the families fought out their own quarrels. A national contest unites the country more closely; a civil war, where one section fights to acquire or retain rights and power, is not always wholly evil; but these faction fights

and family feuds bred contempt for authority and law. The defeat of the one party was the nation's loss; the success of the other was no gain. On one side or on both, was scored a debt of blood and revenge, to be exacted whenever occasion offered.

75. **BERWICK LOST.**—A number of the discontented barons gathered round Edward Baliol; landed in Fife; defeated Regent Mar with a much larger force at Dupplin, in Strathearn; and had Baliol crowned at Scone, as vassal of England (1332). The party of Bruce sent David, a boy of nine years old, to the court of Paris for safety. We find that Baliol soon after was compelled to flee across the Border. Edward III. resolved to invade Scotland, and laid siege to Berwick. He pressed it so hard, that the garrison promised to surrender if they were not reinforced by at least 200 men before a certain day. The Scots army, on a raid into Northumberland, returned, and found the English covering Berwick, and strongly posted on Halidon Hill. Crossing the marsh at the foot, the Scots suffered sorely from the English bowmen, and, on charging up the hill with greatly thinned ranks, met a crushing defeat, with little loss to the enemy (1333). Berwick surrendered, and, except for a few brief periods, was henceforth lost to Scotland. It was not, however, made a part of England, but was provided with a staff of officials for the government of Scotland, over which Edward still hoped to extend his lordship. In consequence of this victory, Baliol regained his power, and as a pledge of repayment for Edward's aid, Baliol's party, without the sanction of the Estates of Scotland, gave over the south-east counties as far as the Forth. In 1338, Salisbury laid siege to the

castle of Dunbar, which held out for David Bruce. Its lord, the Earl of March, was absent, but his brave countess, 'Black Agnes,' trusty Randolph's daughter, made a gallant and successful defence, and would, in scorn of their efforts, wipe the place on the wall where the besiegers thought they had planted a telling stroke. Edinburgh Castle was retaken by the Scots in 1341; and Roxburgh Castle next year by Ramsay of Dalhousie, who was made governor of its castle, and sheriff of Teviotdale. How lawless the times were is shewn by the sheriff's being seized in the discharge of his duties, and starved in the dungeons of Hermitage, by Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, a bold, bad man, guilty of even worse deeds, though called the 'Flower of Chivalry.' He himself was slain, hunting in Ettrick, by his kinsman, Lord William. Edward III. being engrossed with the French war, the national party gradually increased in strength, and at length succeeded in forcing the English to leave the country, and agree to a truce. Baliol withdrew in 1339, and David returned from France in 1341.

76. NEVILLE'S CROSS, 1346.—Scotland might now have found Edward III., with his son, the Black Prince, worse foes than Edward I., had not their efforts been turned to France as a richer prize. France naturally drew the Scots into closer alliance, and incited them to invade England. Collecting an army at Perth, they marched as far as Durham. Edward was busy before Calais; but an army was raised by the archbishop of York, aided by Percy and Neville, the two great men of the north. The knight of Liddesdale, out plundering, was met by the English, and driven with loss into the Scots lines. The day

was again decided by the English bowmen, against whom no provision was made. The Scots were completely defeated; David, six barons, two prelates, and the 'black rood,' were captured; and a cross erected on the field gave the battle the name of 'Neville's Cross.' The English for a time occupied a portion of the south of Scotland, drawing their temporary marches by Cockburnspath, Soutra, Carlops, near Penicuik, and Crosscrine, near Biggar. Edward had now three kings in his keeping, John of France, David, and Baliol. Edward again, in 1355, overran the south of Scotland, but both men and food had been withdrawn, and he had soon to retreat. David was released in 1357, the Scots Estates becoming bound for a ransom of 100,000 merks, and above twenty nobles as hostages. David, little of a Scot, probably finding his captivity more pleasant than his throne, returned several times to England, and was willing that Edward, or his son Lionel, should succeed him. But the Scots Estates at once indignantly rejected the proposal. He was a weak prince, and died in Edinburgh Castle, February 22, 1371.

77. 'THE BLACK DEATH.'—In David's reign, the most terrible plague on record ravaged all Europe. It spread west from China; cut off 25 millions of persons in Europe; and about one-fourth of the people in Scotland. Boils broke out on the limbs, and black spots all over the body, and few whom it seized survived for three days. People forsook their nearest kindred, and even the clergy shrunk with horror from the gold with which fear and devotion sought to load them. It did not originate, but it roused to fierce activity, the fanatical 'Flagellants,' who passed from place to place enrolling votaries for

thirty-three days, during which half-naked men and women scourged themselves and one another, in order to avert the pestilence. They also stirred up the people against the Jews, many thousands of whom were slain. The plague was called the 'Black Death;' but in Scotland, which it entered from the south, it was known as 'the foul death of the English.'

1329-71. DAVID II., son of Bruce's second wife.

1332-39. Edward Baliol in Scotland.

1333. Defeat at Halidon Hill, and loss of Berwick.

1338. Black Agnes defended Dunbar against Salisbury.

1346. David defeated and captured at Neville's Cross.

1355. Invasion by Edward III.

Disputes about confiscated lands; weakness of the government, and family feuds; the discontented make Baliol king, and give up the south to the English; the Black Death.

XIV. ROBERT II.: 1371-90.

Stewart line; Truce with England, 1383; French impressions of Scotland; Douglas and Chevy Chase.

78. Robert II., now fifty-five years old, son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, succeeded to the crown, the power of which he had long exercised. He was the first of the Stewart line. There was no settlement with England, but the troubles of the later years of Edward III., and the weakness of his grandson, Richard II., left Scotland free from much anxiety. In 1383, a truce, including

Scotland, was made between France and England, but before the news of it could reach the court of the Scots, the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham made a raid as far as Edinburgh. Robert accepted the truce, but his Estates resolved, whatever the king might say otherwise, to waste the lands of these earls.

79. FRENCH IMPRESSIONS OF SCOTLAND.—At the end of the truce in 1385, John de Vienne, admiral of France, was sent to Scotland with an aid of 2000 men. They were struck with many strange things there. They said Edinburgh was inferior to a second-rate town in France, and had not more than 4000 houses. When the English came with an army, and the Scots mustered 30,000 men, the French expected and urged a battle. This was not the plan of Douglas, who took Vienne to a hill and shewed how hopeless was an engagement with 6000 men-at-arms and 60,000 foot. Vienne then counselled surrender, but that was not the idea of Douglas, who said the English might do as they pleased, while he ravaged Cumberland and Westmoreland. This he did without molestation, and returned home to find the English withdrawn, and the land desolate; but the people soon crept down from their hidings in the hills with their flocks and goods, and repaired their rude huts, which stood a chance of being burned next year. The French soldiers found other strange things. They thought the Scots might at least let them, as guests, do as they were used to do in France, where they could live at free quarters, and plunder the farmers or peasants. But here, if they carried off but a cow or some corn, the owner and his neighbours assaulted and punished them soundly. Nay, when they rode out, the people bade

them keep to the paths and not trample the crops, and sued them for damages if they did not give heed.

80. INVASION OF ENGLAND, 1388.—The Scots resolved to revenge the invasion with a force of 50,000. The English, this time the weaker, intended to pass north by the one side, as the Scots passed south by the other. The latter, learning this from a spy taken near Jedburgh, sent their main force by Carlisle, but detached Douglas, with 300 picked lances and 2000 foot, to ravage the east. We learn little of the doings of the larger force, or of the spoil they brought back. Douglas advanced to the gates of Durham, and then returned, laden with booty. His motions were so quick and varied, that his force was not known. Northumberland retained a small body at Alnwick; and sent his two sons, Sir Henry, whom the Scots named Hotspur, and Sir Ralph, to raise a larger army at Newcastle. There in some passage-at-arms between the outposts, Hotspur's pennon, the greatest prize or loss to a knight, was secured by Douglas, who boasted he would place it on his tower at Dalkeith. Hotspur vowed it should never pass out of Northumberland; and Douglas bade him come and take it from the front of his tent that night, if he could.

81. OTTERBURN, OR CHEVY CHASE.—The English barons restrained Hotspur that night from the attempt to recover it, as they neither knew Douglas's force, nor whether it might not be a part of a larger army near at hand. The Scots then drew off by Rede Water, which flows south-east from Carter Fell, and attacked, without gaining, the tower of Otterburn. The general wish was to get home; but Douglas fancied his honour was not complete, unless

Percy had a chance of trying to recover his pennon. So they entrenched a camp, and, much fatigued, stripped off their armour for rest. On learning from a scout the position and numbers of Douglas, Hotspur advanced with 800 men-at-arms and 8000 foot, raised the Percy cry, and in the moonlight of August 19, 1388, attacked the outer quarters of the camp followers. With the aid of a few spearmen, these made a stand, till the others were roused and had resumed their armour, many of them carrying what was afterwards known as the Lochaber battle-axe. Creeping out by the rear, they swept round, and attacked from without the English already in the Scottish camp. These at first bore them back by superior numbers; but Douglas, taking his axe in both hands, cleared a space around him, till he was borne down and trodden over, neither side knowing who had fallen. With his latest breath, he bade display his banner and raise the Douglas cry, which gave the Scots such heart that they broke their foes.* The loss of the English was great; of the Scots, but small. Of the Percies, Sir Ralph fell, and Sir Henry was made prisoner. It was a brave fight, but useless as war. The Scots should have pressed home with their spoil, and the English should not have rushed on a camp without knowing its ground and plan. Percy's band returning, met the bishop of Durham advancing with 10,000 men; but these withdrew on inspecting the position, which had been still further strengthened by the Scots, who then retired unmolested. A truce was made next year, which was renewed till 1399. Meanwhile (1390), Robert died in his castle of Dundonald, near Irvine, a patriarchal man and a

* The famous ballad, of a much later date, alters the story. The name Chevy Chase is not from the Cheviots, but from a Norman word, *chevauchée*, a raid.

peaceable king, but surrounded by unruly nobles in troubled times.

1371-90. ROBERT II., son of Bruce's daughter Marjory.

1383-85. Truce with England.

1388. Invasion of England; Chevy Chase.

The French found the privileges of the nobles were less in Scotland than in France, while the people were more free and independent; Douglas and Percy.

XV. ROBERT III: 1390-1406.

The king accountable to parliament; Rothesay and Albany; North Inch combat; Homildon Hill; Capture of Prince James.

82. MISRULE AND CORRECTION.—Robert II. was succeeded by his son John; but that name, so odious to the nation, was changed to the popular one of Robert, though that was borne by a younger brother. The truce kept the peace with England. In our time, men set free from fighting, fall back upon their labour, or trade, or land. But in those days, after nearly a century of war, the able-bodied men who had been banded under this lord or that, had little scope and less taste for peaceful labours, and were nothing loath to turn to plunder or revenge. The 'simple plan' was, 'that they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can.' The townsmen and the peasantry suffered severely. Fortunately, there was a parliament, which condemned the misdeeds from which few of its members were free; and so gave the

people the right to denounce the oppression they could not prevent. The Estates (1398) 'delivered that the misgovernance of the realm, and the default of the keeping of the common law should be imputed to the king and his officers. And therefore, if it likes the lord our king to excuse his defaults, he may at his liking call his officers, to whom he has given commission, and accuse them in presence of his council. And their answer heard, the council shall be ready to judge their defaults.' Both the king and his ministers were thus held responsible to parliament.

83. ROTHESAY AND ALBANY.—The same Estates introduced a new title into Scotland, in 1398. The king's brother was made *Duke* of Albany; and the king's eldest son was created *Duke* of Rothesay, with sovereign powers, as his father's lieutenant, to 'restrain masterful misdoers, cursed men and heretics, and those thrust forth of the church.' From this, it would seem that the movements of Wicliffe and the Lollards had affected Scotland. The king was an infirm man, weak and indolent. Rothesay was active but profligate, wasting his energies and time in lawless pleasures. Albany, the real ruler, was able and brave, but his powers were spent for his own selfish ends. March and Douglas were the two great nobles. In 1399, Rothesay was betrothed to the daughter of the former, but next year married Marjory Douglas. March renounced his allegiance, and fled to England. Rothesay's conduct required restraint, and helped the designs of his uncle. He was seized and carried to the palace of Falkland, where rumour said he was starved to death (1402). A parliamentary inquiry failed to clear the matter. It said he had died by the visitation of Providence; indemnified

Albany, Douglas, and their assistants, for his capture, detention, and death ; and forbade all false and calumnious rumours against them. Albany became governor.

84. THE NORTH INCH COMBAT.—On October 23, 1396, on the North Inch of Perth, lists were staked off as for a tournament. There were stands and benches for a great multitude, from the king downwards, with visitors from France and England. Two clans, Kay and Quhele, thirty of each, were to fight in their own fashion. On one side a man was missed. His place was filled by 'Hal of the Wynd,' 'Gow Chrom,' or the 'crooked smith,' who 'pertained nothing to them in blood or kindness,' but 'fought for his own hand.' After the fight there were left on the one side ten wounded men ; on the other, one. The object of the battle is not clear. It may have seemed good to get rid of some Highland caterans ; but the death of sixty of them would make little change. It could settle no dispute, unless a whole clan was destroyed ; for every feeling of Highland honour would bind all who remained to seek revenge for each one who had fallen. Perhaps family feuds made it difficult to arrange an ordinary tournament, and advantage was taken of the hostility of two clans to obtain a novel spectacle as a substitute.

85. RAIDS AGAIN.—The Scottish Borderers scarcely waited the end of the truce (1399), to make a raid on the English, who followed in turn. Next year, Henry IV. advanced in force as far as Leith, but retired with less than the usual damage done. Two years after, Douglas with 10,000 men advanced into Durham, and was returning with great plunder, when Hotspur and March met

them near Wooler. The Scots took up a strong position on Homildon Hill (1402). Percy would have attacked at once, but March knew better both the weakness and strength of the Scots, who had made no advance in archery, but whose spears and axes were terrible in a close encounter. So the English bowmen played on the compact mass, and made great havoc, ending in defeat and the capture of Douglas. Sir John of Swinton called out not to stand and be shot like deer in a park; and Adam of Gordon, a near neighbour, but at deadly feud with him, nobly joined. They bravely charged with about one hundred retainers, and fell to a man. The English said, that had all fought like them, the issue of the battle would have been very different. Douglas was released by Percy, whom he joined in his insurrection against Henry IV., and was again made prisoner in the battle of Shrewsbury. It is wearisome to tell of so many barbarous and bloody raids, which seemed to settle nothing. But they were necessary for defence and protest, till the English withdrew their claim of superiority, and left the Scots to manage their own affairs.

86. CAPTURE OF THE PRINCE; DEATH OF THE KING.—It was believed that Albany had made away with one son of Robert, and had designs against the remaining one, James, a youth of fourteen. It was thought advisable to put the prince out of his reach, and send him to the court of France for protection and training. He sailed with a suitable retinue from the Forth, in March; but, though it was in time of truce, he was captured by an English war-vessel off Flamborough Head, probably not without the contrivance of Albany. His father felt the loss heavily, and died next year at Rothesay (1406).

- 1390-1406. ROBERT III., son of Robert II.
1396. The North Inch Combat.
1398. The king's son and brother made
Dukes of Rothesay and Albany.
1400. Henry IV. attacks Leith.
1402. Death of Rothesay; Scots defeated
at Homildon Hill.
1405. Capture of Prince James.
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The country disturbed by disbanded soldiery; the king and his ministers held responsible to the Estates; the country suffered from the indolent weakness of the king, the profligacy of Rothesay, and the selfishness of Albany; the Earl of March joined the English, who capture Douglas.

XVI. JAMES I.: 1406-37.

Captivity and marriage of James; State of the Highlands; Relations with England and France; Execution of Murdoch; Murder of James.

87. JAMES I.—Robert's successor was his son James, still a prisoner in England, and the government remained in the hands of Albany. James had been first sent to the Tower of London; in 1407, to the castle of Nottingham; and in 1417, he went to France with Henry V., who, by his victories and the help of the Duke of Burgundy, was declared regent of France and successor to its throne. However unjust were his capture and detention, James had been as well treated as if the Henrys had been training

him to support their own crown. His mind, acute and vigorous, was improved by all the learning and accomplishments which England could supply, and by intercourse with the great statesmen of England and France. In the *King's Quhair* he tells the story of his captivity and love 'in sweet verse worthy of a true poet.' With heavy heart, from his latticed window he looked forth into a garden, with arbour green and shady walks. There he beheld, in that 'fresh May morrow,' 'the fairest and the freshest flower that e'er he saw.' This 'milk-white dove,' who, as yet unknown, had won the captive's love, in time became his queen; and all the care of statesmen could have suggested no better an alliance. She was Lady Jane Beaufort, cousin to Henry V., and daughter of the Earl of Somerset, a nobleman who was brother of Henry IV., and son of John of Gaunt.

88. STATE OF THE HIGHLANDS.—We have seen that the Highland chiefs scarcely looked on the kings of Scots as their sovereigns. The Lords of the Isles had been more than once in treaty with the kings of England. In 1384, the Estates speak of the caterans roaming at will, eating up the country, consuming the produce of the state, and taking by force and violence goods and victuals. They ordained that all men should bring such to the sheriff, and, should they refuse to come, might kill them without having to answer for their part. Alexander Stewart, brother of Robert III., had got Badenoch and Buchan, former lands of the Comyns, and had also obtained the earldom of Ross by his wife. He was almost a king; and how he ruled may be learned from his name, 'the Wolf of Badenoch.' His natural son, following in his steps, rushed down on the lowlands of Mearns and Angus, and

swept off the forces gathered for their defence, under Lord Lyndsay, at Gasklune, on the banks of the Isla, in 1392. About twelve years after, he stormed the strong castle of Kildrummy, carried off the Countess of Mar, and made her his wife. The earldom of Ross soon fell to an heiress, who took the veil. Her aunt was married to Donald of the Isles, who claimed the inheritance, which would have made him as great as a Maarmor of old. This was not desirable either to Mar or to the government, which refused his claim. Donald resolved on war in 1411; and, with a force of 10,000 men, attacked Mar and the Lowlanders, who defended successfully, and at a critical period in Scotland's history, the entrance to the low country. The fight was so severe, and the victory so important, that special privileges were granted to the heirs of the fallen. The battle was at Harlaw, not far from Bruce's fight near Inverury. In 1427, Donald and fifty other chiefs were summoned before a parliament at Inverness, seized, and put in separate confinement; and several, who could scarcely have been the worst, were put to death. Their trial, if trial they had, is not told. Donald was spared on making due submission, but he soon rebelled again, destroyed Inverness, and harried Lochaber in 1431. Finding the king's power too great for him, he surprised the court at worship in Holyrood, by appearing half-naked, kneeling before James, and yielding his bare sword. He was imprisoned in Tantallon Castle; but his place was taken by a kinsman, Donald Baloch, who defeated Mar in Lochaber. The king called for a tax so great, that 'where the yield of two pennies was raised, there must now be ten;' and passed through the Highlands with great force, crushing opposition, and receiving submission.

89. RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—Between occasional truces, the Scots made several raids across the Borders, and took and destroyed Jedburgh Castle (1409), though Roxburgh was still held by the English. For the young Percy, Albany received in exchange his own son Murdoch, captured at Homildon, though it might have been expected he would rather have asked for his nephew. But James was allowed to be visited by several of his subjects, and so managed with these that his influence was felt in Scotland. Instead of the old phrase, 'our adversary of Scotland,' Henry addressed him as 'our beloved kinsman, the illustrious king of Scots.' Albany died in 1419, and Murdoch, without appointment of the Estates, took the office of governor. At last James was released in 1424, on giving hostages for the payment of £40,000, for his maintenance in captivity; but one-fourth was remitted as the queen's marriage-portion.

90. RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.—The old alliance was continued with France; and 7000 men under the Earl of Buchan were sent to the aid of that country, and mainly contributed to the victory at Baugé (1421), the first check which the English received in France. Henry, who had James as a captive in his camp, most cruelly and unrighteously ordered all Scots taken prisoners to be hanged as traitors. Three years afterwards, in the French defeat at Verneuil, few Scots survived the slaughter. But France, when it recovered, was not unmindful of the aid. The famous Scots Guard was formed, the Scots generally received the rights of citizens, and not a few were rewarded with lands and founded distinguished families. In 1436, James's daughter, who had been betrothed to the dauphin, sailed from the Forth with a

suitable retinue, and was carried safely to Rochelle, though the English, in violation of a truce, tried to intercept her.

91. JAMES AS RULER.—James quietly took the throne, blaming none for keeping him from it so long. He was feeling his place and biding his time. Eight months had passed; alarm felt by any had ceased; and the parliament was sitting at Perth, when Murdoch, his two sons, and twenty-six leading nobles, were suddenly arrested. Murdoch, his two sons, and the old Earl of Lennox were executed on the 'heading-hill' at Stirling (1425). A younger son of Murdoch's escaped, but was hunted down and put to death. The other nobles were set free, and had perhaps been arrested only to prevent any attempts at rescue, or to shew at once both the power and the forbearance of James. Having given this striking example of vigour, the king set himself to remove the misrule of the realm, and 'make the key keep the castle, and the bracken bush the cow.' He kept his parliament busy, and acts date from almost every year of his reign.

92. PARLIAMENT AND LAWS.—One of the earliest of these acts provides for making the laws known, in their native tongue, to those charged with administering them. A commission revised the former laws, struck out those which had ceased to be fit, and amended what was wrong. There was a general survey of property, to make the taxation equal and just. Owners of land were to shew their titles. Few liked to do this, many could not, and several suffered forfeiture. While the laws were made widely known, provision was made to bring their benefits within the reach of all. Few states have done so, and none so

early. 'If there be any poor creature that, for default of cunning and dispenses, cannot or may not follow his cause, the king, for the love of God, shall ordain that the judges before whom the cause shall come, purvey, and get a leal and a wise advocate to follow such poor creature's cause.' As had been done in England, the lesser barons were freed from attendance in parliament (which was both inconvenient and expensive), provided they elected from each shire two commissioners, but only one each from Kinross and Clackmannan. These commissioners were to 'choose a wise and an expert man, called the common speaker of the parliament, who shall propose all and sundry needs and causes in the parliament.' But the king knew that the good that would last needs defence, and he knew how often the Scots had fallen below the showers of English arrows. Bow-butts were erected in every parish, where all males above twelve were to practise; and, lest it should interfere with this duty, the popular game of foot-ball was forbidden. All able-bodied males, from sixteen to sixty years old, were to be provided with armour suitable to their station, and attend at the district 'wapenshaws,' to exhibit their weapons, and be exercised in their use. With these district gatherings were combined sports, and, in some places, wolf-hunts; but the bow never became a favourite or common weapon of the Scots.

93. CONSPIRACY.—A ruler cannot make his reforms secure if he pushes them faster or farther than he can bring the influence of the country to promote or support them. There was an uneasy feeling among the nobles. The head of the discontent was Sir Robert Graham, an able and even an accomplished man, whose personal

interests do not appear to have been affected. His brother, Sir Patrick, had married the heiress of Strathearn, and the title passed to their son Malise. But the king ruled, that, as a male fief, it could not be carried by the female line, and transferred it to Robert Stewart, Earl of Athole, whose grandson was strangely deep in the conspiracy, of which the old earl himself knew. Graham had even in parliament denounced the king as a tyrant, who ought to be killed out of hand. For this he had to seek refuge among the Highlanders, whom James had chastised and curbed, and who therefore were ready enough to help his enemies, whether or not they could justify or understand the quarrel. James unwittingly put himself within their reach. Accustomed occasionally to make himself the guest of one of the religious houses, the king was to hold his Christmas of 1436 in the monastery of the Blackfriars at Perth, which stood outside the town in a moat-enclosed garden. James had several warnings, which were especially pressed on him by a weird Highland woman, who probably knew, without any second-sight, what was to happen. But a man easily frightened would have led a sorry life in these times, and James would let nothing mar the festivities of the court.

94. JAMES MURDERED.—A merry evening had been the 20th of February 1437, with games, and tales, and songs. The party had broken up, and the king, in his dressing-gown, lingered before the fire in the reception-room, chatting with the queen and her ladies. A noise was heard without; each remembered the despised warnings; and 300 Highlanders crossed the moat, and were breaking into the monastery. The ladies sprung to fasten the door, but the bolts had been removed; and the stanchioned windows

allowed no escape by them. The king, calling to the ladies to hold the entrance as they might, staved up some boards of the flooring, and crept into a small vault situated below, after which the boards were replaced as well as possible. The poor women could make little resistance; but one, like a brave Douglas as she was, thrust her arm through the staples of the door. The living bar was soon crushed, and the conspirators rushed in. Many thought that James had escaped, but one suspected the hiding-place, which the state of the floor soon revealed, and the king stood defenceless before them. James was brave, like his race, and a strong man and active besides. He grappled with several, who carried his marks to the scaffold. But the struggle was short. When James spoke of mercy, Graham said he had shewn none, even to his own blood, and none should he have now. When his body was taken up, it shewed sixteen deadly wounds. The garden-entrance to the place where James sought refuge, had been closed by him but a few days before, to prevent his tennis-balls falling in.

95. THE MURDERERS' DOOM.—This terrible crime was a blunder besides. However the nobles might regard James, he was the idol of the people. The murderers had scarcely time to withdraw to their hills. Speedily the burghers of Perth took up their rally, 'St Johnston's hunt is up,' and the pursuit was too hot for escape. The vengeance was terrible, for nothing is so stern and relentless as popular fury. Graham and one group suffered at Stirling, and Athole and others at Edinburgh, the most cruel tortures that could be devised; and it was perhaps less wonderful that men could inflict, than that mortal frames could bear torments, 'that were to any mankind

too sorrowful and piteous a sight, and too abominable to see.' In this reign are two instances of suffering for opinion. In 1408, John Reseby, an Englishman, was burned at Perth, for holding forty heresies, of which we only know that one was denying that the pope was the vicar of Christ. In 1432, Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, was burned at St Andrews. But even in that city, where freedom of inquiry after truth was condemned, a nursery of thought was established, by Bishop Wardlaw, who founded the university of St Andrews in 1411.

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1411. Donald of the Isles defeated at Harlaw.

1419. Death of Albany.

1425. Fall and execution of Murdoch.

1437. Murder of James at Greyfriars, Perth.

James's training and marriage; return in 1424; activity and vigour; improvements in law and defence; examination of titles; discontent and conspiracy.

Bravery of Scots at Baugé (1421) and Verneuil (1424); privileges and honours in France.

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XVII. JAMES II. : 1437-60.

The Douglasses; Siege of Roxburgh.

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allowed no escape by them. The king, calling to the ladies to hold the entrance as they might, staved up some boards of the flooring, and crept into a small vault situated below, after which the boards were replaced as well as possible. The poor women could make little resistance; but one, like a brave Douglas as she was, thrust her arm through the staples of the door. The living bar was soon crushed, and the conspirators rushed in. Many thought that James had escaped, but one suspected the hiding-place, which the state of the floor soon revealed, and the king stood defenceless before them. James was brave, like his race, and a strong man and active besides. He grappled with several, who carried his marks to the scaffold. But the struggle was short. When James spoke of mercy, Graham said he had shewn none, even to his own blood, and none should he have now. When his body was taken up, it shewed sixteen deadly wounds. The garden-entrance to the place where James sought refuge, had been closed by him but a few days before, to prevent his tennis-balls falling in.

95. THE MURDERERS' DOOM.—This terrible crime was a blunder besides. However the nobles might regard James, he was the idol of the people. The murderers had scarcely time to withdraw to their hills. Speedily the burghers of Perth took up their rally, 'St Johnston's hunt is up,' and the pursuit was too hot for escape. The vengeance was terrible, for nothing is so stern and relentless as popular fury. Graham and one group suffered at Stirling, and Athole and others at Edinburgh, the most cruel tortures that could be devised; and it was perhaps less wonderful that men could inflict, than that mortal frames could bear torments, 'that were to any mankind

too sorrowful and piteous a sight, and too abominable to see.' In this reign are two instances of suffering for opinion. In 1408, John Reseby, an Englishman, was burned at Perth, for holding forty heresies, of which we only know that one was denying that the pope was the vicar of Christ. In 1432, Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, was burned at St Andrews. But even in that city, where freedom of inquiry after truth was condemned, a nursery of thought was established, by Bishop Wardlaw, who founded the university of St Andrews in 1411.

1406-37. JAMES I.; prisoner in England till 1424.

1411. Donald of the Isles defeated at Harlaw.

1419. Death of Albany.

1425. Fall and execution of Murdoch.

1437. Murder of James at Greyfriars, Perth.

James's training and marriage; return in 1424; activity and vigour; improvements in law and defence; examination of titles; discontent and conspiracy.

Bravery of Scots at Baugé (1421) and Verneuil (1424); privileges and honours in France.

The king's power weak in the Highlands; Wolf of Badenoch; plundering of the caterans; battle of Harlaw.

XVII. JAMES II. : 1437-60.

The Douglasses; Siege of Roxburgh.

96. JAMES II.—James's infant son, six years old, was crowned at Holyrood, Scone being too near the Highlands and the sad memories of Perth. For safety, the queen stayed with her son in the castle of Edinburgh, and the

custody of the king gave the governor, Sir William Crichton, the means of advancing his own interests. On pretence of visiting the then famous shrine of 'our Lady' at Whitekirk, in East Lothian, the queen took ship at Leith. Among her luggage she concealed the king; and, when cleared from Leith, turned up the Forth to Stirling, which was held by Sir Alexander Livingston. Douglas was lieutenant of the realm, and his great power could easily have swept aside such small men as Crichton and Livingston; but he died in 1439, and his son was only sixteen years old. In the same year the queen chose the lord of Lorn for a husband, or perhaps more for a protector. Crichton recovered his position. Concealing himself with a body of his men in the royal park at Stirling, he got possession of the king, who had come out for exercise, and bore him off to Edinburgh in triumph, as if recovered from treacherous captivity. The two rivals came to terms: Crichton got something to satisfy him, and Livingston had charge of the king. The young Douglas carried his honours with haughty display: a thousand men, many of them knights, rode in his train; and he had kept from attendance at court or parliament as service too mean for him. Crichton invited him to visit the king at Edinburgh Castle, and the earl, in proud security, not only came, but brought his brother. While dreading nothing, and partaking the royal hospitality, a bull's head was set on the board. At the signal, armed men rushed in, seized the Douglasses, and beheaded them in the court-yard (1440).

97. THE DOUGLASSES.—To understand the state of the kingdom, we must here learn something about the house of Douglas, and the families allied or hostile to it. It had long been the most powerful and popular in Scotland. 'Known not in the fountain

but in the stream, not in the root but in the stem,' the origin is unknown; but the family was rooted long before those of the Norman adventurers, and was earlier than the time of William the Lion. Sir William was the first man of rank who joined Wallace; the 'good lord James,' 'the black Douglas,' was the tried and true friend of Bruce; and Otterburn itself would have made any name great. It was mainly the Douglasses fighting for their own lands that had recovered the southern counties from the English; and in many a raid and many a fight they had borne the brunt. The fall of March had added to their already great power, and they held two-thirds of the south of Scotland, with other estates here and there. Nor was their power confined to Scotland. In 1423, Archibald carried a body of troops to France, and was rewarded with several grants of lands, and with the almost sovereign dukedom of Touraine. Perhaps no king of Scots ever had such state as the Douglas, when, through the streets of Tours, hung with tapestry and strewn with flowers, he rode to the cathedral, where the archbishop and clergy waited to welcome and to bless him.

98. THE DOUGLAS AND THE CROWN.—To add to their influence, the Douglasses represented the claims of Baliol and Comyn and the eldest daughter of David of Huntingdon, and might seek to found a new royal dynasty. But without a favourable opportunity, it would have been folly to reveal their aim; for, far beyond what we can now easily imagine, the Scots hated the name of Baliol, and almost worshipped that of Bruce, not only as their hero and deliverer, but because they erroneously, but fondly and firmly, believed that Bruce had ever denied the claims of Edward, declaring he would either be a free king or none at all. Probably the young Douglas had been less discreet than the old, and let designs appear which were dangerous to the crown. The death of the Douglasses was dealt with neither as a crime nor as a state punishment. It was probably felt that their removal, though foully accomplished, was not much to be regretted. Touraine, as a male fief, was lost. Part of the Douglas estates was given to the late earl's sister, 'the Fair Maid of Galloway,' and the rest, with the title, passed to his uncle, 'James the Fat,' an old inactive man, who died in 1443.

99. **THE DOUGLAS RISKS AGAIN.**—William, the son and heir of Earl James, was a different man. He made friends with Livingston, and became lieutenant of the realm ; but Crichton was able to retain the castle of Edinburgh, and the office of chancellor. Douglas reunited his lands by divorcing his wife, and marrying his cousin, Margaret of Galloway, a girl eleven years old. In 1449, when James married Mary of Guelderland, in the Netherlands, then the richest part of Europe, Douglas attended with 5000 retainers. With powerful houses he formed 'bands' to make common cause against the enemies of either party. Persons of less note near his own lands he summoned as vassals, and the few who refused had to look well to themselves, as in the case of one M'Lellan, who was seized and confined in Douglas Castle. His uncle, Sir Patrick Grey, captain of the king's guard, hastened with a letter under the king's hand and seal to obtain his release. He was courteously received, and invited to partake of the Douglas hospitality before beginning business. Thereafter Douglas read the letter, and said that for the sake of the king's mandate and of Sir Patrick, he would give up his nephew, though the latter was somewhat changed since his arrival. It is said that his head had been struck off while his uncle was entertained. Still, though the king had assumed power, there was no open quarrel with the Douglas ; but the Livingstons were ruined.

100. **DOUGLAS STABBED.**—In 1452, the king, desiring a personal conference, invited Douglas to Stirling, and granted a 'safe conduct.' He arrived on January 13, and the party supped cordially. Then the king took him aside, and among other matters talked of the bands. As Douglas gave no sign of withdrawing from them, the king at last plainly demanded he should break them. When the Douglas said he would not, 'then this shall,' said James, and twice stabbed him with his dagger. Then Sir Patrick Grey, nothing loath, felled him with his pole-axe, and the body was cast into the court below. The crime had evidently not been planned, for no arrangement had been made for its consequences. The earl had four stout brothers, from whom Stirling Castle scarcely saved the king. They nailed the safe-conduct to the cross, and then tied it to the tail of the sorriest horse they could find, and dragged it through the mire, uttering 'uncouth' and 'slandrous words.' Though Douglas was dead, the rest of

the band had to be dealt with, and civil war raged from the Solway to the Moray Firth.

101. DOUGLAS'S ALLIES.—Douglas's chief allies north of the Forth were the Earl of Ross, who was also at this time lord of the Isles, and had most of the power beyond the Moray Firth; and Lyndsay, Earl of Crawford, who held Strathmore. Between these houses had risen a third, which grew by taking from them on each side. Alexander Seton had married the heiress of the Gordons, a south Border house; and Albany gave them lands in Strathbogie, where they grew and 'birsed yont,' till the Gordon became the 'cock of the north,' and Earl of Huntly. The great abbey of Arbroath used to make one of the Lyndsays their justiciar, and the office was now held by the 'master' or eldest son, who abused his office, quartered unruly followers on the monks, and was 'uneasy to the convent.' So the monks chose another justiciar from the Ogilvies of Inverquhar, who had to fight for possession. Huntly, on his way to Strathbogie, was their guest, and had to help in the battle, according to the ancient custom that a guest must risk his life for his host while his meat is not digested. Huntly had to flee; his son was slain; but the Lyndsays, though victors, lost their earl, who had hurried up to stay the fight, and was killed by an Ogilvie. His son, 'Earl Beardie,' or 'the tiger,' fought out the quarrel with Huntly near Brechin; but the captain of his axemen went over to the foe, and the Lyndsays were beaten after a hard battle (1452).

102. THE DOUGLAS'S POWER BROKEN.—Douglas was succeeded by his brother James, who nailed a writing on the door of the parliament house, defying James as a perjured man and a murderer. The king marched through his lands and took his castle, but came to terms with him. Douglas increased his power by marrying his brother's widow, and though this must have required a dispensation from the pope, the king does not appear to have made any opposition. For some cause not known, the quarrel was renewed. Each side raised 40,000 men; the king took the castle of Abercorn; Douglas was advancing through Lanark, and a battle seemed certain. But the Hamiltons refused to fight against the king's banner, and Douglas's army was broken up. He stirred his ally of Ross and the Isles to invade the west coast,

but this only enriched Ross without helping Douglas, who fled to England (1454).

103. THE RED DOUGLAS PUT DOWN THE BLACK.—Another house aided the fall of the Douglas, and rose on their ruin. The Earl of Angus was a younger branch of the House of Douglas, and, from the complexion of his family, received the name of the Red Douglas, to distinguish him from the elder branch, which had been surnamed the Black, from the colour of the hair of their ancestor, the Good Lord James. He now took the part of the king against his kinsman. Many of the Border houses who had depended on Douglas, joined Angus, whom they could follow as a Douglas, and yet rather gain than lose the royal favour. Angus and his party defeated Douglas's two brothers; the one, Earl of Murray, falling in the battle, and the other, Earl of Ormond, being taken and beheaded. Forfeiture was declared against the remaining Douglasses, and much of their land fell to Angus, who repelled an inroad made by Douglas, aided by the Percies, the old foes of his house. Thus 'the Red Douglas put down the Black.'

104. RULE AND DEFENCE.—There was now rest in the land. The king gave promise of becoming a wise ruler, and chose for his chief adviser, Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews—a man able, moderate, and peaceful, and the first churchman who rose to political distinction in Scotland. A law was passed 'for the safety and favour of the poor people that labour the ground,' that leases held by them should remain good, though the land changed owners. There were also provisions 'for the away-putting of sorners, feigned fools, bards, and such-like others, runners about.' The sorners are also called 'masterful beggars,' wandering with horses and hounds, which were to be forfeited, and the owners imprisoned. The feigned fools were to be kept in prison as long as their goods would support them. After that, the Act, with more pith than precision, ordained 'that their ears be nailed to the Trone* or any other tree, and cut off, and banished the country; and thereafter, if they be founden again, that they be hanged.' Every man worth twenty merks was to have a jack with iron sleeves, and sword, buckler, bow and quiver, or,

* The 'trone' was a beam in the market-place, for weighing goods.

if unskilled with the bow, an axe and targe. Each great baron was to have a cart, 'and each cart to have two guns, and each gun two chambers, with the other graith (equipments), and a cunning man to shoot them.' Bales or beacon-fires were arranged to give notice of an enemy. One bale told that the enemy, great or small, was moving; two, that an army was drawing to the Border; and four 'ilk ane beside other, and all at once,' that it was 'of great power and means.'

105. JAMES KILLED.—The wars of the Roses in England prevented much trouble being given to Scotland. James, indeed, crossed the Border with an army to aid Henry VI., but the presence of a Scots army only made that unfortunate king more unpopular. Though there was a truce with England, it was thought a good opportunity to recover Roxburgh and Berwick. The Scots did not think that taking their own was warring against England. They began with Roxburgh, and the king conducted the siege. Strangely enough, John of the Isles came to assist, and was of considerable service. The defence was obstinate. James had in his siege-train one of those monster guns, of which 'Mons Meg' is a specimen, which were larger than the skill of that age could build to be used with safety. It had been bought in the Netherlands for James I., but had hitherto been little used. James was 'more curious than became the majesty of ane king' to see the working of this gun, which was made, as usual then, of bars of iron forming a tube, and bound by iron hoops or rings. The hoops were too wide, and oaken wedges were driven between them and the bars, to keep the latter close and tight. In the firing of the gun, one of these wedges was driven out, killing the king and wounding Angus at his side (1460). This did not stop the siege, for the queen came with her son, and urged

the army to accomplish what the king had lost his life in attempting. Roxburgh was taken and destroyed, having been more serviceable to the English than the Scots. The castle stood on a tongue of land between the junction of the Teviot and the Tweed, and the spot where James fell is now marked by a tree in the park before Floors Castle.

1437-60. JAMES II., son of James I.

1440. Douglas slain at Edinburgh Castle.

1452. Douglas stabbed by James; Lyndsay defeated by Huntly.

1454. Douglas fled to England.

1460. James II. killed at the siege of Roxburgh.

Rise of the house of Douglas; popularity, power, and wealth; ambitious designs; the houses of Hamilton and Angus turn against the Douglasses.

XVIII. JAMES III. : 1460-88.

Favourites, Boyd and Cochrane; Battle of Sauchie.

106. JAMES III.—The government of James III., who was not eight years old when he succeeded to the throne, was directed by Bishop Kennedy, till his death in 1465. After the battle of Towton, Henry VI. with his queen and son, took refuge among the Scots, to whom they gave up Berwick, perhaps less from love to them than from a desire to spite Edward IV. He was too busy to quarrel with Scotland, and in 1461 he appointed a commission to treat of peace 'with our beloved kinsman, the

king of Scots.' Only two months before, though not known in Scotland for several years after, he had similarly treated with 'our beloved kinsman, the Earl of Ross.' To him the lordship of the north, and to Douglas that of the south, were to be given, provided they assisted to reduce them, and held them as fiefs of Edward and his heirs. With the hope of so great a prize, the lord of the Isles struck widely; his depredations extending from Nairn and Inverness to Bute and Arran; but his attempt, however grievous to these districts, had no effect on the kingdom at large. He 'and the principals of his company lost all their ships and prey in the sea in their returning.' Edward did not abandon his designs. A great collection of forged writs and documents was solemnly deposited in the English treasury. These, if genuine, would have clearly proved that the English claims were just, and had been acknowledged by the Scots.

107. THE BOYDS.—After Kennedy's death, the Boyds, lairds of Kilmarnock, rapidly rose and as rapidly fell. The younger brother, Alexander, had been selected for his skill, to instruct the king in fencing and knightly exercises. In 1466, he persuaded the king at Linlithgow to accompany him to Edinburgh; James, probably, only regarding it as a pleasant excursion with pleasant companions; but he found himself to be virtually in the power of the Boyds. The elder brother was made guardian of the king, and governor of the royal fortresses; his son was made Earl of Arran, and married the king's sister, Mary. Arran was sent to arrange for the king's marriage with Margaret of Denmark, and to bring her home. During his absence, a league was formed against the Boyds, and having received warning from his wife of the

danger, he left his charge, and returned to Denmark. His father fled, his uncle was executed, and his wife and her title were given to the head of the Hamiltons (1474), who became the family nearest to the throne for several reigns.

108. ORKNEY AND SHETLAND THE QUEEN'S DOWRY.—The circumstances of the royal marriage, in 1469, were somewhat peculiar. The yearly sum of one hundred merks for the western isles, ceded by Norway after the battle of Largs, had never been paid. The arrears of two hundred years made a large sum, and were now called up by Christian I. of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Scotland found payment difficult, and the matter was referred to a common ally, Louis XI. of France. It was thought that the simplest and best way to settle the matter was this : The king of Scots needed a wife, and Christian wanted a husband for his daughter ; the royal pair were to marry ; and as a dowry, Christian was to cancel his claim on the Hebrides, and also to give £5000. This sum, the payment of which was either unpleasant or inconvenient, was to remain as a debt, and Orkney and Shetland were placed in keeping of the Scots as a pledge for payment.

109. THE KING'S FAVOURITES.—With not a few good qualities, James was ill suited to his place and his times. He had little pleasure or sympathy with the rough ways of his rude and unlettered barons, and preferred the company of men of refinement and taste, or of mechanical skill and ingenuity. Unfortunately, such were not to be found among those whose position in the country gave them a right to take part in its affairs ; and James made favourites of craftsmen and artists, who had no capacity

or position to justify their acceptance at court. A king does not hold his office to gratify his own tastes, even where these are both innocent and good. It was unwise, and was thought unkingly, to make his favourites the companions of his leisure; but it was far worse to lift them out of their place, and to make them his advisers and ministers in matters of state. One of his favourites was Rogers, a musician; but we do not know whether this man had any merit in founding or fostering our national music.

110. THE FAVOURITE COCHRANE.—The chief favourite was Cochrane, a mason, though we cannot tell whether he was a mere craftsman, or had the skill or genius of an architect. We know that many noble buildings date from about that time; that a style was rising, somewhat peculiar, rich, and bold; and that James took much pleasure in the new buildings at Stirling Castle, with their grotesque statuary and rich ornaments. Whether in any of these we are indebted to Cochrane's ideas or influence is uncertain. Cochrane had great influence with James, and abused it for selfish ends. 'He grew so familiar with the king, that nothing was done by him;' 'ever claimed here and there till he had no peer of an subject;' 'neither durst any man oppose against his proceedings, were they good or evil;' 'no man got audience of the king but by his means, or by giving him gear, which, if they did, their matters went right, were they just or unjust;' 'so the wise lords' counsels were refused, and their sons absent from the king's service.' Cochrane is supposed to have set the king against his brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany and Earl of March, and John, Earl of Mar, both active and popular men, and well able

to have helped the king. Mar died suddenly at Craigmillar, and Albany, accused of using witchcraft against the king, was confined to the castle of Edinburgh. He escaped to his castle at Dunbar, thence to France, and afterwards to England, where, on Edward undertaking to make him king of Scotland, Albany bound himself to be his vassal, and to follow him in peace or war. This was not known at the time, but something of it must have been suspected.

111. RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—The relations between England and Scotland became more unfriendly, though nothing had openly occurred to account for the change. The English were marching an army to the Border, and the Estates resolved that for the 'resisting of the reiver Edward, calling himself king of England,' the whole armed force of the realm should be called out. One of the largest armies ever raised in Scotland mustered on the Boroughmuir (south-west of Edinburgh, at Morningside), and marched by Lauder. Cochrane was manager of the guns. There were few of the barons who did not dislike the upstart and favourite. The expression of each heightened the resentment of himself and others, and they resolved to remove the favourites, and to take the king into their own guidance. Having met in the church at Lauder, they consulted on the matter. Lord Gray told the fable of 'the cat and the mice.' The mice thought a bell tied to the cat's neck, to tell where she was, and give warning of her approach, would greatly add to their own safety and comfort. The idea was good, but no mouse would venture to fasten the bell. 'Heed not,' said Archibald, Earl of Angus, 'I'll bell the cat.'

112. COCHRANE HANGED.—There was a knock at the door, and, with a message from the king, Cochrane entered with haughty air, arrayed in rich doublet of black velvet, 'with ane great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of 500 crowns; and ane fair blowing-horn, in ane chain of gold, borne and tipped with fine gold at both ends, and ane precious stone called ane beryl hanging at the ends thereof.' Angus pulled off the chain, and said a rope would serve him better. So, 'they caused pass certain armed men to the king's pavilion, and two or three wise men with them, and gave the king fair and pleasant words till they had laid hands on all servants, and took them, and hanged them over the bridge of Lauder before the king's eyes' (1482). At the king's entreaties they spared one favourite, Ramsay, a youth of seventeen. The army broke up; the king was lodged in Edinburgh Castle, with seeming honour, but real restraint; and Albany returned, and was in power for a time. Having probably found himself suspected, he went over to the English, and gave up to them his castle at Dunbar. He next made a raid into Scotland, but was defeated and fled (1484). Douglas, who was with him, was taken, but his life was spared on condition of retiring into Lindores Abbey. 'He who may no better be, must be a monk,' said the old man.

113. CONFEDERACY AGAINST JAMES.—The throne of England was now filled by Henry VII., whose own affairs so occupied him that he wished for peace, though he still held by the old claims, which James was suspected of favouring. Ramsay, who had risen to be Earl of Bothwell, made three suspicious visits to England; and his letters, long after discovered, confirm the suspicion. A confederacy

was formed, and an army collected. The Estates charged James with surrounding himself with evil advisers, 'who counselled and assisted to him in the inbringing of Englishmen, and to the perpetual subjection of the realm.' With a more unpardonable offence he could not have been charged. The confederate forces were drawn from the south, and the king's from the north. The king drew towards Stirling, whose governor shut the gates against him, and carried the young prince into the camp of his father's enemies. The royal standard was displayed by both armies, who met a little to the south-west of Bannockburn, on the banks of the Sauchie (1488). There was little fighting, for the king fled early from the field, 'evil sitten' on a spirited horse. He had crossed the Bannock, and was passing a mill, when the miller's wife, taking water from a spring opposite her house, was startled by an armed man galloping alone. Her pitcher dropped from her hands, the horse shied, and the rider was thrown. Carried in, and laid on her bed, he revealed his rank, and bade the woman bring a priest. As she ran to seek a priest, a man presented himself as one, went in, bent over the king as if to hear confession, stabbed him to death, and rushed off none knew whither.

114. JAMES AND CAPTAIN WOOD.—To James, fond of all mechanical skill, is due some of the credit given to his son for an interest in ships. He seems to have been familiar with Captain Wood, kept him in his pay, and sailed in his vessels the *Flower* and the *Yellow Caravel*. As it was thought the king might have escaped in his vessels, Wood was called before the council at Linlithgow, two lords being left in his ships as hostages. He must have been like James in appearance and age ; for the prince

on his entrance at once said : 'Sir, are ye my father?' Wood said the king was not in his ships, 'but would to God he were; I should defend him, and keep him from all the treasonable creatures who have murdered him, for I think to see the day when they shall be hanged and drawn for their demerits.' The council afterwards called before them all the skippers and mariners of Leith, and promised them men, artillery, and victuals, if they would pass forth and take Wood. But Barton, of whom we shall hear again, said : 'There were not ten ships in Scotland that would give Captain Wood's two ships combat.'

1460-88. JAMES III., son of James II.

1465. Death of Bishop Kennedy.

1469. James acquired Orkney and Shetland with his wife.

1482. Cochrane, the favourite, hanged at Lauder.

1488. James was defeated at Sauchie and slain.

Wars of the Roses in England; intrigues of Edward IV. in Scotland; the king's favourites, and the resentment of the nobles; Boyd, Rogers, Cochrane, and Ramsay; Captain Wood.

XIX. JAMES IV. : 1488-1513.

*The Highlands; James marries Margaret Tudor;
Battle of Flodden.*

115. JAMES IV.—The death of James III. seems not to have been intended, and the confederates used their success with moderation, though Ramsay was stripped of his lands and power. But the popular feeling must have

been against them, for, in 1491, the Estates were anxious for 'the eschewing and ceasing of the heavy murmur and voice of the people, that the person or persons that put violent hands on his person, and slew him, are not punished.' Henry VII. wished peace, and arranged with Angus—old Bell-the-Cat, head of the House of Douglas—that he should prevent an attack by the Scots; and in the summer of 1493 ambassadors were empowered to treat for a lasting peace during the life of both kings.

116. THE CHURCH.—The see of St Andrews had been made an archbishopric in 1471, but the first two archbishops carried so many affairs to the pope, that the Estates ordained, under the pain of treason, that none should apply to Rome for appointments to any abbacies or benefices which were not by their original constitution in the gift of Rome, and that all who had taken pleas there were to bring them home for settlement by the courts of law. It was thought that if there were two archbishops, the one would check the other. James therefore pressed the pope to raise the see of Glasgow, the cathedral of which 'surpasses the other cathedral churches of the realm by its structure, its learned men, its foundation, its ornaments, and other very noble prerogatives.' This was done in 1492. The two prelates did oppose each other, but both carried their disputes to Rome, till the Estates told them 'not to labour against the thing that shall seem profitable to the realm,' else the Estates would charge that 'none of the lieges make them penance, nor pay to them farms, rents, nor mails for the sustenance of such pleas.' In 1494, the new Glasgow dignitary handed over thirty Lollards of Kyle for punishment to the civil power,

which, however, did not comply with his wish or approve of his zeal.

117. **WARBECK, OR DUKE OF YORK.**—By law, Henry VII. had no right to the English crown. The sons of Edward IV. were said to have been murdered in the Tower, and in this belief their uncle, Richard III., had been allowed to reign. But no trial had been held to prove or to punish the crime; and a person, whom his enemies called Perkin Warbeck, a Fleming, declared he was the Duke of York, the younger brother. He was acknowledged by the king of France, and by the sister of Edward IV., Margaret of Burgundy. He came to Scotland in 1495, and was received as a true prince by James, who gave him in marriage, Catharine, daughter of Huntly, and grand-daughter of James I. She was most devoted to her handsome and accomplished husband. One of his letters to her is still preserved, and a letter more eloquently expressive of love, admiration, and high courtesy no lady ever received. He was two years in Scotland, and left with every mark of honour, but with no real aid. James had indeed taken him with a small force to the Border, but no English stirred in his behalf, and Henry merely kept himself ready without shewing his forces to provoke an attack. But he took means to know what James was doing, and employed Ramsay—who seems to have had a wonderful power of pleasing people, and worming himself into their secrets—as a gentleman spy. Warbeck made an attempt in the south-west of England, but was defeated, imprisoned in the Tower, and hanged at Tyburn in 1499.

118. **THE HIGHLANDS.**—In all but the Highlands the feudal system prevailed; the title and the land were held from the

king ; every change and the cause of it were recorded ; and all rights descended by strict inheritance, but might be forfeited for rebellion or for lack of service. This system had no place in the Highlands. In the Lowlands the king gave the title, the title carried the land, and the holder had to do with the men only as living on his estate. They were subject to him only so far as he was subject to the king, disobedience to whom was not to be justified by obedience to the baron. In the Highlands, the clan gave the title, and the chief had to do with the land only as held by the men. Their consent, and not charter or writ of law, gave the chief his power ; and the succession was determined, not by deed of entail or by strict inheritance, but by the voice of the clan, who might advance an illegitimate son, a brother, or uncle to the dignity of chief. A title or charter from the king added nothing to the power of the chief whom the clan accepted, and gave no authority to him whom they rejected. All honours rested on the clan, and covered all its members, so that a poor man of a great clan was more a gentleman than a rich man of a lower. All this was strange and troublesome to the rulers of the kingdom. They had to deal with a people whose laws and ideas had scarcely anything in common with their own.

119. DEALINGS WITH THE HIGHLANDS.—The Scots kings had long used three plans in bringing the Highlanders more under their control, and James carried out these more fully. The *first* was by force. Whenever the Highlanders became very troublesome, a force was sent against them, which followed them as far as it could, chastised them as well as it was able, and exacted as great promises as they could be made to give. When a superior force came upon them, the Highlanders had no choice but to bow beneath the yoke, and bear it while they must. But the king had no means of holding the territory he seemed to have conquered. His barons gave him men for an expedition, but none to hold garrisons, unless they got lands beside those worth the risk of holding. Dunstaffnage and two or three large castles probably date from the time of Bruce ; a few smaller towers were raised afterwards ; but most of the forts were wattled dwellings, inclosed by a mound of earth or stone, as was Inverness till 1506. Several forts were erected by James. The *second* plan was to induce the chiefs to accept titles and charters from the crown.

This was done at different times with very indifferent success. In the Lowlands or at court, these gave the chief a certain position and right, but among his people it was better to say little about them. In 1476, the lord of the Isles became a parliamentary lord, but his illegitimate son Angus, who was to succeed him, took offence at this, and bloody battles were fought between them. The quarrel descended to Angus's natural son, Donald Dhu, who was carried off for a while to a hold in Argyle, but escaped in 1501. Macleod of Lewis and other chiefs gathered round him, and it took the king and Huntly three years to suppress Donald Dhu, who was carried prisoner to Edinburgh. The lordship of the Isles was ended, and the king could now deal separately with the many clans who had owned its sovereignty. The *third* plan was to get the same person to hold lands in both Highlands and Lowlands. When a Highland chief by any means held by feudal tenure in the Lowlands, the king had a good hold on him. Among his hills, writ and law were things of straw; but as a tenant of the king, he had to give obedience or suffer forfeiture. Lowland houses were encouraged to push their connection and influence into the Highlands. At this time two great families were thus promoted, Huntly and Argyle. Huntly was made sheriff of most of the lands beyond what is now the Caledonian Canal, with a castle at each end, Inverness and Inverlochy. Argyle's influence was in the south. Besides feudal lands which he held, he had by marriage become chief of Lorn. In the Lowlands, or at court, he was the king's earl; among his Celtic subjects he was the Mac Callum Mohr, whose rank was neither made nor increased by king or parliament. By these means, after much fighting for several years, James put the Highlands into a more satisfactory condition.

120. THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—Scotland was recovering her wealth and prosperity, and had relations with several European states. Even the crafty and powerful Ferdinand, whose marriage with Isabella of Castile had made one kingdom of Spain, had an ambassador at the court of James. All Ferdinand's schemes were to work

out two ideas : to make the court of Rome supreme over Christendom, and to make Spain its powerful champion. There was as yet no dread of Protestantism or of revolt against Rome ; but some states, as France, while not in direct opposition, were not in full submission to the claims of the pope. Ferdinand intended to attack France from the south, and wished England to operate against the north. England was not ready to do this, unless an alliance with Scotland was secured. Ferdinand had a daughter, Catharine, and for some time he was at a loss whether to give her to England or Scotland. Proposals were opened with both ; but ultimately Catharine was given to Henry's eldest son, Arthur, and on his death to his brother, and Henry's daughter Margaret was given to James (1502). So far all seemed well ; Spain had bound England, and England had bound Scotland, though the latter would not yet break with France. These marriages had very unforeseen and unexpected results. The marriage of Catharine, which was to bring England more completely to the service of the pope, turned it entirely against him ; and the marriage of Margaret 101 years afterwards made of two opposing and warring nations one great Protestant people.

121. CHARACTER OF JAMES.—We seldom have a king's character drawn so fully and well as that of James by the Spanish ambassador, from whom we select what follows : 'He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome in complexion and shape as a man can be. His address is very agreeable. He speaks the following foreign languages: Latin, very well ; French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish ; and the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands. . . . He is well read in the Bible, and in some other devout books. . . . He never cuts his hair or his beard ; it becomes him well. . . . He fears God, and observes all the precepts of the church ; does not eat

meat on Wednesdays and Fridays, and would not ride on Sundays for any consideration—not even to mass. He says all his prayers, . . . gives alms liberally, but is a severe judge, especially in the case of murderers. . . . Rarely, even in joking, a word escapes him that is not the truth. He prides himself much upon it, and says it does not seem to him well for kings to swear their treaties as they do now. The oath of a king should be his royal word. . . . He is courageous, even more so than a king should be. . . . On such occasions he does not take the least care of himself, and is not a good captain, because he begins to fight before he has given his orders. . . . He lends a willing ear to his counsellors, and decides nothing without asking them ; but in great matters he acts according to his own judgment. . . . I can say with truth, that he esteems himself as much as if he were lord of the world.’ We add from an old writer : ‘ He would ride out through any part of the realm alone, unknown that he was king ; and would lie in poor men’s houses as he had been a traveller through the country, and would require of them where he lodged, where the king was, and what a man he was, and how he used himself towards his subjects, and what they spoke of him through the country. And they would answer him as they thought good, so by their doing the king heard the common bruit of himself.’ In remorse for opposing his father, he is said to have worn an iron belt, and to have subjected himself occasionally to other penances. But with all these good points, he was a very licentious man.

122. SCOTS SEAMANSHIP.—The adventures of the Portuguese, and the discovery of America, had stirred all the sea-bound nations to naval enterprise. Scotland had plenty of coast, and her Norse and Saxon population took readily to the sea. But England had like advantages ; and, being the richer and stronger country, pushed her weaker neighbour aside. Each charged the other with piracy, and not without justice. There were few vessels then that did not try a little privateering as well as trading ; and it was long before captains could be trusted to refrain from a prize which they thought they could take without being called to account. Scotland had two famous seamen, Sir Andrew Wood, knight of Largo, and Captain Barton. Wood captured five English vessels as pirates, and brought them into Leith. The

English sent Stephen Bull, with 'three great ships, well furnished with men and artillery,' to bring in Wood, alive or dead. Bull lay behind Inchmay till Wood came sailing past St Abb's Head. Then having 'made fill the wine and drink to all the skippers and captains under him,' he cleared for action. When Wood saw Bull's vessels meeting him set for battle, he told his men to be 'fierce with their enemies,' and to 'use the fire-balls well in the tops of the ships.' Then 'he caused pierce the wine, and each man drank to the other.' Wood kept on the windward, and fought 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, in the long summer day.' Next morning the fight was renewed so keenly, that the vessels were borne by the tide and the south wind to Inchcape, at the mouth of the Tay, up which Wood carried Bull's vessels in triumph to Dundee. James sent Bull and his men 'all safely home with their ships and all their furnishing, because they had shewn themselves to be stout and hardy warriors.' The English sent out the two Howards with a force against Barton, who was defeated and killed in the Downs (1512). But as soon as command at sea became honourable, it was seized by the feudal leaders, though they had no fitness for it. Every baron might not be fit to be a general, but he was at least a soldier, with men under him who knew how to fight and were accustomed to his command; but these could not be transferred to a fleet, which requires special aptitude and training, both in officers and men. The *Michael*, 'ane very monstrous great ship,' 240 feet long, and probably too large for the capacity of the time, was built in 1511. With other twelve vessels, it was put under the command of Arran, but we do not learn what so large a fleet accomplished, or what became of it.

123. WAR WITH HENRY VIII.—Henry VII. died in 1509, and the relations between the two kingdoms became more unfriendly. Henry VIII. refused redress for the capture of Barton's ship, and kept back part of his sister's dowry. He had sent one army and was taking another against the French king, who naturally wished James to make war upon England. The French queen sent James 15,000 crowns, with a letter, saying she was a doleful

lady, with an enemy at the door, and charging him, as her chosen knight, to march for her sake three feet into English ground. This, more than policy, influenced James, who carried his notions of chivalry to an extreme. The nation was less eager. They had no objection to make an ordinary raid across the Border, or to fight the English if they came; but it was a very different thing to declare war when their independence was not threatened, and merely because a French lady had made their king her knight. As the king would not listen to sober counsel, he was warned by visions and strange voices. 'A man clad in a blue gown' suddenly appeared before the king at his devotions in the church at Linlithgow, and, without 'reverence or salutation,' warned him 'not to go where he was purposed,' 'nor use the counsel of women,' which would bring him to shame. Then 'before the king's eyes, and in presence of the whole lords that were about him,' 'this man vanished away and could be no more seen.'

124. FLODDEN.—The force of the realm was mustered at the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, crossed into England, and lay between the Till and the Tweed. There, *for the first time before a battle*, an act was passed freeing the heirs of those who might fall from the feudal taxes of succession. The Scots took Wark, and then Norham Castle; but, in consequence of unnecessary delays, they began to be short of provisions, which each leader had to furnish for himself and his followers. Surrey, with his army of 32,000, prevented any raid to the south, and numbers were sent to bring supplies from their homes. But 50,000 still remained, occupying a strong position on the crest of Flodden, a rounded eminence, neither high nor steep, flanked on the east by the high broken banks of

the deep and sluggish Till. The place was excellent for defence; not unlike that of Wallace at Cambuskenneth, though James had much better ground and a far superior force. But the aims and characters of James and Wallace were very different. Wallace sought to save his country with the least loss to his men, and the greatest to the foe. James wanted a great stand-up fight, like that of a tournament, where he could shew his own valour, without much concern for the lives of his men, or for his own duties as their leader.

125. THE BATTLE.—Surrey moved from the east side of the Till, slowly crossing in narrow file by the bridge at Twisel. Borthwick, the commander of artillery, wished to cannonade the bridge while they were crossing, and Angus pressed for an attack before the English had again formed their array. The counsel of both was indignantly rejected. On perceiving that Surrey was moving to occupy a strong position to the front of James's left, the king gave orders to fire the tents, and marched down from the high-ground to the more level ground at Brankstone. James had a fine park of artillery, but the guns were too large to be usefully worked, and the bow proved still the superior weapon. The English were in four divisions; the Scots in five. The battle commenced at four o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, September 9, 1513. Huntly and Home on the Scots left broke the right of the English; but their men began to plunder instead of following up their success. On the right were the clansmen under Lennox and Argyle. Their mode of battle was still the headlong charge and the sword fight. Instead of being allowed to charge at once, they were kept back, till, goaded into fury by the English bowmen, they rushed

heedless of order on the foe, and were thrown back in confusion. The centre fought on. The king on foot fought with his own hand, and pressed forward as if to meet in personal combat with Surrey, till only a lance-length divided them. Leaving large bodies of their men without leaders or direction, the nobles and chief men clustered around him, and fell by his side, till the king was slain by an arrow. The loss of the battle was a terrible calamity, but involved no disgrace. If the Scots shewed little prudence or skill, they fought the battle bravely. A king, two prelates, twelve earls, thirteen lords, and 10,000 men fell in the fight. The English reported that no man of note, save Lord Home, escaped unhurt; and there were few families who had not one member laid in 'dark Flodden.'

1488-1513. JAMES IV., son of James III.

1494. Lollards in Kyle, Ayrshire.

1495-97. Perkin Warbeck in Scotland.

1501-4. Troubles in the Highlands; lordship of the Isles ended.

1502. James married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

1511-12. Captains Wood and Barton; the *Michael* built.

1513. James fell at Flodden, with the flower of his nation.

The Estates claim the control of the church; character of James; dealings with the Highlands; force and forts; the chiefs brought under feudal law; the power of feudal families, as Argyle and Huntly, advanced; the Scots navy—its growth checked by feudal influence; French influence led James to war with England.

XX. JAMES V. : 1513-42.

*Albany and Angus ; The Borders ; Henry VIII. ;
Wolsey and Beaton ; Solway Moss.*

126. THE EFFECTS OF FLODDEN.—The crown fell to James V., an infant only sixteen months old. The head of the realm, the heads of great families, and the rulers of towns had suddenly fallen, and their varied affairs fell suddenly and without preparation into new hands. In ordinary circumstances, here and there a young man came into power, but he was associated with others whose years gave caution and counsel, if not wisdom and well-doing. But now, all over the country, the power passed into the hands of a new generation, untried and untrained. With much cost and labour the citizens of Edinburgh surrounded themselves with a wall, which could never have offered much resistance to the artillery even of those days. But, if it could not keep out an enemy, it effectually confined the citizens, who, unable to spread themselves out, had to pile themselves up ; raising their houses above those of their neighbours, instead of building beyond them. For a short time the queen was appointed regent and guardian. She was a woman of strong passions ; reckless and self-willed ; ready to sacrifice dignity, power, and family ties, to whatever pleasure tempted her at the time. Her brother, Henry VIII., who seldom let even nearer and dearer interests stand in his way, was not likely to be much moved for the sake of his nephew, the king of a rival state, and a mere child whom he had never seen.

127. THE QUEEN.—Within a year of her husband's

death, and four months after she had borne a posthumous child, the queen married Angus, young, handsome, and the most powerful of the nobility. Their daughter married Lennox, and was the mother of Lord Darnley. Commissioners were sent to the queen to take from her the royal children, whom she shewed through the bars of the portcullis of the castle, and declared she would keep in defiance. She then took them to Stirling, which she thought she could hold better, but was compelled to surrender. She was in constant intrigues, now helping and then trying to ruin Angus; now assisting, and then thwarting the plans of her brother, till she died at Methven (1541).

128. ALBANY REGENT.—The Duke of Albany, brother of James III., had left a son, who had become a noble and admiral of France. The Estates called him to be regent. He was as completely French in his ideas and habits as if he had not been connected with Scotland, of whose welfare he was equally ignorant and careless. He did not keep the laws, quarrelled with the nobles, and cared not for the people. Order and prosperity disappeared, and violence and misdeeds filled the land, till only in armed bands could people pass from one place to another. He landed with a small fleet at Dumbarton (1515), and soon quarrelled with Angus, whom he seized and transported to France. In about a year Albany returned to France, against the remonstrance of the Estates, leaving Frenchmen in several garrisons, and stayed till 1521, though his return was required to be in four months. Two years later, he was again in France, and returned with 3500 men, whom the Scots regarded more as enemies than friends, till the most of them withdrew with Albany in 1524.

129. **ANGUS.**—Angus soon returned. A number of his enemies met in Blackfriars Church, Edinburgh, to plan measures against him. One of his house, Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, appealed to Bishop Beaton to use his influence rather for peace than strife. Beaton, laying his hand on his heart, protested his conscience was clear. The action had been somewhat strong, for his armour rung, and his brother bishop said his conscience was ‘clattering.’ The Angus party being attacked, so completely swept their opponents off the streets, that the affair was called ‘Clean the Causeway’ (1520). Named as one of the guardians in 1526, Angus kept James closely in his own power. Near Kirkliston, Lennox attempted to take the king away; but Angus told James, that if his enemies got one half, he would keep the other, though the king should be torn in two. Lennox was killed on the occasion; but James subsequently (1528) effected an escape from Falkland to Stirling. The power of Angus was broken; he was divorced from the king’s mother; and James swore that while he lived the Douglas should have no place in Scotland. Though Angus for some time held Tantallon, he soon had to retire into England. His sister, Lady Glammis, a beautiful woman, was afterwards burned on the Castle Hill for ‘conspiring and imagining’ the king’s death; but the people believed she suffered, not from any crime she had done, but for her relation to Angus.

130. **THE BORDERS.**—Most of the Border houses were dependents or allies of the Douglas. On special occasions they helped him, but in ordinary circumstances they acted for themselves, using his name, and claiming his protection when they were hard pressed. Most of their lands

had been recovered with hard blows from the English, and were held to be much less the king's than their own. They had to watch and keep the Border ; but except that they would rather raid on the English than the Scots, they were not particular from which side they took their spoil. In this they were little better or worse than their neighbours, who, at Flodden, took more from Surrey than from the Scots, perhaps because there was more to take. The chief among these Border houses were the Armstrongs. In 1531, James went with 8000 men to put the Borders to rights, and John Armstrong with twenty-eight retainers, met him less as a subject than as an ally, who turns out to pay respect to a greater prince than himself. When James saw him, he ordered him out of his sight, saying : ' What wants the knave that a king should have ? ' Armstrong saw his danger, and offered to ' take never a penny of Scotland or Scot,' and to bring to James within a certain day ' any subject of England, duke, earl, or lord.' Finding his offers vain, he said : ' I am but a fool to seek grace at a graceless face ; but, had I known you would have taken my life this day, I would have lived upon the Borders in spite of both king Harry and you.' He was hanged at once. Cockburn of Henderland and Scott of Tushielaw were also hanged. Though treated as common thieves, these chiefs ruled their own lands well, and regarded what they took from others less as plunder than as tribute, which they had often to levy by force. The fall of the Armstrongs favoured the rise of the Scotts and the Kerrs.

131. RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.—In 1515, France made a treaty of peace with England, and brought the Scots into it very much as if they had no voice in the matter.

They were to benefit by the treaty, if they ceased making inroads on the Borders. The Scots were touchy, and resented everything like patronising treatment. They would have no help from France, 'unless given with courtesy and respect.' Their dislike to Albany had begun to extend to the French who befriended him. But the bullying of Henry of England threw them back upon their old allies, less from a love of France, than because they would not submit to Henry's dictation.

132. RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—Had Henry known the Scots, and been a wise man, he might have drawn them into a close and friendly alliance. The Scots had to a great extent the same blood, language, and political constitution as the English; and the less they were afraid of them as enemies, the more reliable friends they might have been made. But when Henry said that, for love of the Scots, he would drive out Albany if they did not, the Scots replied that only they had to do with Albany, who had been appointed by themselves, and had no power but what they gave him. People are wisely distrustful when those, who are not benefited by their welfare or asked for advice, profess to become suddenly and deeply interested in their affairs. The Scots, therefore, while not wishing for war, made ready to meet it. An army of 80,000 men, with 45 brass guns, and '1000 hack-buts carted upon tressels,' was sent to the west Border, and halted at Annan (1522). Lord Daere, quite unprepared, met Albany, and proposed a cessation of arms, which Albany accepted; and the great army was dispersed. Then Daere, with 10,000 men, advanced from the east Border, and destroyed Jedburgh. The regent re-assembled some 50,000 men, most of whom refused to follow

him across the Tweed at Melrose. With the remnant, and some French, he passed into England, and made an unsuccessful attack on Wark Castle. Soon after returning to Scotland, Albany retired to France.

133. 'ERECTION' OF THE KING.—To check the French party, and prevent the return of Albany, Cardinal Wolsey, chief minister of Henry, used every influence for the 'erection of the king' to the conduct of the government. He directed Norfolk, who commanded on the Border, to send certain sums to the queen, Arran, and Lennox, with promises of more to them and to others who would aid in this project. James, at twelve years of age, was conveyed from Stirling to Edinburgh, and took his place as king, with 'sceptre, crown, and sword of honour,' in the old Tolbooth (1524). James Beaton, made archbishop in 1523, was primate of the church and chancellor of the realm. Holding the strong castle of St Andrews, on a rock jutting out into the sea, he could play an important part in the politics of the time. He had not joined the English party, yet was not known to be utterly committed to France. Wolsey, wishing to kidnap him, first proposed a conference, and then pressed that he should be sent as ambassador to Henry. In both cases, he had resolved that if Beaton crossed the Border, he should not be allowed to return. When Beaton ventured to parliament, and was imprisoned, Wolsey wished him conveyed secretly to Berwick. In all these attempts he failed; and Beaton soon recovered his influence.

134. THE HIGHLANDS.—We have seen that the southwestern Highlands and islands were put under Argyle. Disputes having arisen, the Highlanders ravaged the earl's

lands on the Clyde, and Argyle asked for the array of the southern counties to reduce the Highlanders. The council thought, if such a force was needed, the king himself should lead it. The Highlanders had no wish for this, since resisting the king was worse than opposing his earl. Neither did Argyle desire it, for it would establish the king's power in place of his own. Communications were opened with several of the chiefs, who gave such accounts of Argyle, that the lieutenancy was taken from him, and not given to any other, the government taking the isles into their own hand (1530-32). Thus one great house was humbled; others felt insecure; and several of the nobles entered into relations with Henry. Norfolk made an inroad along the east coast, but none joined him; and a peace was agreed to in 1534.

135. THE KING'S MARRIAGES.—Europe was in a ferment; and James, as the prince of a warlike people, was much courted. England sent him the order of the Garter; France, that of St Michael; Charles V., that of the Golden Fleece; and the pope sent him a consecrated cap and sword. Henry wanted to confer with him at York, but James would go no farther than Newcastle. In 1536, he sailed from Kirkcaldy, with six ships, for France, where he married the king's daughter Magdalen, a delicate lady, who died soon after her marriage. In 1538, Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guise, was brought over to be his second wife, by David Beaton, who, already a cardinal, succeeded his uncle next year as archbishop of St Andrews. As Henry had dealt with the Scots nobles, so James now corresponded with several Irish chiefs, over whom Henry had taken the title of 'king,' instead of 'lord.' About the same time (1540),

the king, with a fleet of sixteen vessels, visited the Orkneys and the Western Isles, where the chiefs offered duty and submission. If he had any intentions of landing in Ireland, they were not carried out.

136. QUARREL WITH HENRY.—Henry was annoyed that some of his subjects, who would not change their opinions as he did, found refuge in Scotland, and that the Scots would not surrender them. He again proposed a meeting at York; and James agreed, on condition of having a safe conduct under the great seal and the royal hand. Henry came to York in great state, but James failed to appear. We may imagine Henry's rage at what even a meek man would have felt insulting and befooling. Norfolk was ordered into Scotland with what forces he had, but was defeated by Home at Jedburgh (1542). Another English army of 30,000 was sent, but accomplished nothing, for the country was laid waste before them. There was a muster of the Scots at the Boroughmuir, and James led a respectable army southwards. At Fala-moor, they heard that Norfolk's forces were dispersed; and though ready to meet an invasion, the great body of the Scots refused to march into England. But some were less decided, and 10,000 men crossed the Esk on the west Border. James had appointed to the command a favourite named Oliver Sinclair, who, on reading his commission, aroused such indignation that the whole camp was in confusion. Dacre, who was watching with a small force, saw the disorder, charged into the crowd, and dispersed it. This was the affair of Solway Moss. James was ill with vexation and low fever at Caerlaverock. He removed to Falkland, where he grew worse. When the news reached him of the

birth of a daughter, referring to the crown of Scotland, he murmured : ‘ It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass,’ and gradually sank, dying, December 14, 1542, in his thirty-first year.

137. CHARACTER OF JAMES.—James was long spoken of with affection by the people as the ‘ king of the commons.’ It is clear enough that he disliked the nobles, and strove to break their power ; but it is not so clear that he had any plan for transferring it to the commons, or for raising the people to the privilege and right exercise of freedom. Much of his popularity arose from tales of his free and easy adventures among the peasantry, not always to his credit or theirs. We cannot tell how many of the broad and humorous pictures in *Christ’s Kirk on the Green* and *The Gaberlunzie Man* are true to James’s character and times. Of personal virtue he had little. His mother set him no good example, nor did the clergy ; a tide of profligacy had set in, and James neither withstood nor resented it. In his reign was instituted the highest legal tribunal of Scotland, the Court of Session, to decide on cases which had formerly been judged by the king and his council, or by a committee of parliament. It was established in 1532, and ruled by a president, who, with half of the ordinary judges, belonged to the church.

138. THE CHURCH.—After the battle of Flodden, the influence of churchmen was greatly increased. *Their* ranks had not been thinned and their knowledge and experience swept away. The young man, the woman, or the child stood in the place of the old earl or knight, who might have weighed the churchman’s counsel, but would have resented his interference. It would be strange if many churchmen had not keenly used and sometimes

abused the power almost thrust upon them. The dislike of the king to his nobles naturally led him to take counsel with the high churchmen, who were their superiors in learning and ability, and had a better knowledge of foreign affairs. The younger Beaton, too, was unscrupulous and profligate, and much less a Scot than a Frenchman and a servant of the Guises. In 1540, a play was acted before the court at Linlithgow. The piece represented the clergy as being shewn their corruptions, but giving no token of repentance, while the king shewed signs of amendment. The picture tells us both what the church was and what the public thought of it.

139. NEW OPINIONS AND PERSECUTION.—Patrick Hamilton, great-grandson of James II., had been abbot of Fearn, near Tain, but lived at St Andrews. Beaton made inquisition into his teaching, found he held divers heresies of Luther, and declared him worthy of death. Hamilton fled to Germany, where he became familiar with Luther and Melancthon. He returned to Scotland, preached openly for some time near Linlithgow, but was allured to St Andrews by Beaton, who gave him some hopes that a reformation would be made. After he had been allowed freedom for a month, Beaton charged him with holding 'detestable opinions,' deprived him of all church offices, and handed him over to the civil power (1528). A warrant must have been prepared beforehand, for this humble, earnest, and heroic man was burned at the stake that same day. As one of Beaton's retainers said: 'The smoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton infected all it blew on.' After this, two individuals were burned in Edinburgh, at Greenside, in 1534, and five on the Castle-hill in 1539. In the same year, the Estates passed an act that no one should deny the pope's authority under pain of confiscation; but called, at the same time, on the clergy to reform their 'negligence of divine service,' and 'the dishonesty and misrule of kirkmen.'

1513-42. JAMES V., son of James IV. and Margaret Tudor.

1515-24. Albany regent.

1522. Advance of Scots army to the Border.

1526-28. Angus, chief guardian.

1528. Patrick Hamilton burned at the stake.

1531. Settlement of the Borders.
1530–32. The government of the isles assumed by the king.
1532. The Court of Session instituted.
1538. James married Mary of Lorraine.
1542. Fala Moor, Solway Moss, and death of James V.
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Effects of Flodden ; intrigues of the queen-mother ; Albany and Angus ; the interference of Henry VIII. threw the Scots into closer relations with France ; Wolsey and Beaton opposed each other ; increased power of the church ; James's dislike of the barons.

XXI. QUEEN MARY: 1542–1554.

Arran regent ; Alliance with England rejected ; Hertford's invasions ; Beaton killed ; Mary sent to France.

140. THE QUEEN AND THE REGENT.—The crown fell to Mary, an infant of a week old. Solway Moss, though a disgrace, was not a disaster like Flodden. It left the nation unhurt save in honour, and the conduct of affairs suffered little check. The Earl of Arran, a descendant of James II., and next to the throne, was made regent or governor, and the charge of the young queen was given to her mother. Beaton produced a will intrusting the royal infant to him ; but it was held as a forgery ; and even if genuine, it was regarded as beyond the king's power to sanction it, as this would interfere with the rights of the Estates.

141. PLANS OF HENRY.—Henry had a plan to unite the two kingdoms by the marriage of Mary to his son and heir, Edward. Having secured the adherence of Angus and of a number of the prisoners taken at Flodden and Solway, he sent them home to forward his views. These were called the ‘assured,’ or the ‘English lords.’ Had he not interfered too much, he might have succeeded. But Henry would have all men not only aim at the point he selected, but march to it at the time and by the way which he chose. The French were personally more disliked than the English; but France made no claim to hold Scotland in subjection, and a French alliance excited no fear. Treaties were, however, drawn up for an alliance between England and Scotland, and for the marriage of Mary and Edward, though the Scots would not break with France. Mary was to remain for ten years in Scotland, and the kingdoms were to be kept separate, even if they should come to have one sovereign.

142. THE TREATY NOT CONFIRMED.—Several Scots vessels carrying fish to France were seized by the English, who refused redress because of a war with France. There were troubles on the Borders; but the Scots government sought to restrain their side, while Henry encouraged and aided his. The Scots did not conceal their displeasure at his general conduct; and Henry, becoming irritated, declared he would take ‘the child’ by force. Beaton and Arran shook hands at Callander House, to oppose the English: Lennox, Argyle, and Huntly, with the Homes, the Kerrs, and the Scotts, without orders from the Estates, but not without their approval, removed the queen from Linlithgow to Stirling,

where she was safer from English seizure; and parliament, in 1543, refused to confirm the treaties with Henry.

143. *FEELING IN SCOTLAND.*—Whatever aid Henry hoped to get from them, the ‘assured lords’ probably neither expected nor wished their retainers to assist in overthrowing the independence of Scotland. His own ambassador told him, ‘though such noblemen could be content that he had the superiority over the realm,’ ‘there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that are of the same mind.’ ‘I see not that they can be sure of their own servants in that quarrel.’ Angus himself said: ‘There is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones at it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, and many noblemen and all the clergy will be fully against it.’ One of the ‘assured,’ Maxwell, again surrendered himself to Henry, but left orders that if the English came, all his servants, tenants, and goods should be used against them. Scott of Buccleuch told the English ‘he would be glad to have the favour of England with his honour, but he would not be constrained thereto, if all Teviotdale were burned.’ Angus made friends with Arran ‘against our auld enemies of England.’

144. *WAR.*—Henry resolved on war, but, being busy with France, he could not spare a large force for Scotland. Modern warfare seeks to break the enemy’s power with the least injury to private citizens; but Henry sought to make the smallest cost spread the widest misery. Hertford’s instructions were ‘to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it;’ to ‘sack Holyrood House

and as many towns and villages as ye conveniently can ;' to 'sack Leith, and burn and subvert it,' 'and all the rest,' 'putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception.' In 1544, Hertford landed at Granton, burned Leith, left Edinburgh blazing for three days and three nights, and retired by the east coast. Then a special force of 5000 men was sent to waste the land of the Douglas ; but that land was so completely devastated already that the only vengeance they could effect shewed itself in destroying the tombs of his family at Melrose. In returning, they were surprised and defeated at Ancrum. Having spoiled the east of the Borders, Hertford now turned to the middle ; and because 'the Borderers would not most willingly burn their neighbours,' he took with him, for that purpose, an army composed of soldiers from various European countries. To make the destruction greater, he started early in September 1545, assigning as his reason that their corn that year being very forward, would be ripe and shorn. As results of this raid, Hertford mentions towns, towers, parish churches, &c. destroyed, 192 ; villages, 243 ; monasteries and friar-houses, 7, including Kelso, Roxburgh, Dryburgh, and Melrose. The injury done to these edifices is not due to Knox and the Reformers, as has often been asserted ; Hertford himself affirms that he committed the assault at Kelso to Spaniards, who undoubtedly were Roman Catholics.

145. GEORGE WISHART.—George Wishart, a native of the Mearns, having been charged with inculcating heresy while teaching Greek at Montrose, escaped to England, where he taught for some time at Cambridge without exciting much opposition. A sermon he preached at

Bristol, however, brought him under ecclesiastical censure. Returning to Scotland, he preached in Dundee, Ayr, and the Lothians, but was apprehended by Earl Bothwell at Ormiston, near Tranent, and conveyed to St Andrews (1546). By an irregular trial he was condemned, and, without the sanction of the civil power, was burned at the stake, Cardinal Beaton exultingly looking on from the keep of his castle. The unjust and cruel death of Wishart, his meek courage in suffering, and the contrast between the pure simplicity of his life and Beaton's wanton pomp, produced a deep impression on the people, and made more enemies to the Church of Rome than all the martyr's preaching had done. An attempt has been made to mix up the martyr with plots against the life of Beaton. It seems that one Wishart was so implicated; but there were more Wisharts than one in those days. There is no proof that the conspirator was George Wishart.

146. THE CARDINAL KILLED.—Some building was going on at Beaton's castle; and on the morning of May 29, 1546, Norman Leslie, son of Lord Rothes, and other two, slipped in along with the workmen. James Melville, with three companions, then came to the gate and asked for an interview with the cardinal. Kirkcaldy of Grange next came up with eight armed men; and the porter, now alarmed, was stabbed and thrown into the moat. The few attendants and workmen in the castle were driven out, and the gates were closed and guarded. Beaton, roused by the noise, and going to look for the cause, was met on the stair and killed. Those driven out having made an alarm, the common bell was rung, and the provost and townsmen hurried to the castle. To shew that

they were too late, the conspirators exposed the cardinal's body on the wall. The place was too strong to be taken, unless by an army, from the sixteen conspirators, who were soon joined by a sufficient garrison of determined men, among whom John Knox lived as their acknowledged pastor. Drawing supplies by sea, they held out for sixteen months against a regular siege ordered by the governor of Scotland, until a French force came in sixteen galleys and reduced the place. The prisoners, treated as criminals, were sent to France, and Knox, along with a few other eminent men, were made galley-slaves. Knox, however, escaped in two years, and returned to Scotland in 1559.

147. BATTLE OF PINKIE.—Henry died in 1547, but his policy was carried on by Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, and protector of England, as the uncle of young King Edward. Accompanied by a fleet, Somerset passed with 15,000 men along the coast to Musselburgh, and occupied the ridges of Carberry and Falside, south-east of Inveresk. The regent Arran with a larger army took up a strong position on the west side of the Esk, which Somerset could not attack with any chance of success. The Scots, leaving their horses, crossed by the west side of Inveresk to the attack. The English were superior to them in artillery and in cavalry, which charged the Scots pikemen, but were repulsed. The Scots, in pursuit, were checked by a great ditch, behind which the English had re-formed. The main body of the English, hitherto concealed behind the ridge, made a general charge; while their bowmen from each flank, and their artillery from behind and from the ships in the bay, played on the dense masses of the Scots, who soon broke and fled.

The English pursued; and more Scots fell in the flight than in the battle (September 10, 1547). Somerset destroyed the church of Holyrood Abbey, and did other mischief around Edinburgh; after which intrigues at home demanded his return to London. Soon after another English force crossed the west Border. Several



EDINBURGH CASTLE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

of the 'assured lords' came as if to join it, but their followers turned against the English, and defeated them with a loss of 3000 men (February 1548).

148. MARY SENT TO FRANCE.—The queen was not considered safe from the English in the castles of either Edinburgh, Stirling, or Dumbarton, and was placed for

a time on the island of Inchmahome, in the lake of Menteith. Knowing that as long as she was in the country the English would invade it, the Scots resolved to send her, now six years old, to France. The French sent a fleet, and landed at Leith 6000 men with a supply of cannon. The English knew that all prospect of the success of their policy ended with Mary's escape, and planned to intercept her. In 1548, the French fleet sailed openly down the Forth, then suddenly turned, swept round the north, took the queen on board at Dumbarton, to which stronghold she had been brought, and landed her safely at Brest (August 30). The French force landed at Leith was of great service to the Scots in recovering the places that the English had taken. Peace was at last made, and lasted for a few years. In 1554, the queen's mother, Mary of Guise, was made regent instead of Arran, who had conferred on him the French dukedom of Chatelherault.

1542-1554. MARY, daughter of James V. and Mary of Guise.

1543. Treaty with England rejected.

1544-5. Hertford's invasions.

1546. Wishart burned; Beaton slain.

1547. Scots defeated at Pinkie.

1548. Mary sent to France.

Henry VIII. proposed alliance; his interference, exciting jealousy and dislike, led to war, in which the Scots were defeated; the Scots obtained aid from France, whither they sent their queen for safety.

XXII. MARY—*Continued*: 1554–60.

The Reformation; Mary of Guise regent; The church, clergy, and people; Adverse claims of Mary and Elizabeth.

149. NEW IDEAS.—Many influences were stirring the minds of the nations of the west. Among these were the discovery of America; communication with India and the east; the growth of commerce and the intercourse of traders; the consolidation of states, and their new relations with each other; the art of printing, and the revived study of the literature of the Greeks and Romans. The Church of Rome stood forth rich, proud, and unbending. The wave of awakening thought reached Scotland. England had cast off the sway of Rome, and many of her people were alienated also from its doctrines and worship. With a common language, the ideas of England and Scotland were mutually interchanged. Many who fled from the persecutions of Mary Tudor found refuge in Scotland. The Scots, in 1542, had been allowed to use the Bible in their own tongue; and they read it with the deepest interest.

150. THE ROMISH CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.—From the days of Canmore, the Church of Rome had grown without check. Fallen families and confiscated estates added to its lands and power, till it held the best, if not the greatest part, of the soil of Scotland. The poor grudged it the possession of so much wealth, and the barons, such fair domains. Its prelates were like princes; the chancellor of the realm, the majority of the judges, and most of the ministers of law were churchmen. James V. turned from his barons to them as advisers. There was scarcely any matter in which the church did not interfere, whether it was the validity of marriages, succession to property, the execution of wills, the taking of oaths, or even a birth or a death in a family! Besides their own lands, they tithed the increase of the rest; and a cottar who had laboured to make his land carry ten sheep instead of nine, had one seized by his priest.

151. THE CLERGY.—Many of the clergy were earnest, wise, and good men ; but a large number, even when respectable, merely filled a niche in the structure of the church, or were moved, without active will or virtue, as parts of the great machine ; and too many were steeped in indolence and ignorance. The higher clergy, chiefly trained abroad, came home aliens in taste and habits, with outward polish but corrupted morals. Sir David Lindsay's writings contain many pictures of the corruptions of the clergy, but as he did not call in question the doctrines of the church, this conduct did not interfere with his safety. What he exposed was notorious at the time, and had been repeatedly rebuked both by the Estates of the realm and by the councils of the church. It was against the monks that the popular feeling was first and most strongly directed. In 1543, the people of Dundee destroyed the houses both of the Black and the Gray Friars ; afterwards the abbey of Lindores was sacked, and the monks were turned out of the building ; but when a foot-band in the pay of the governor of Scotland assaulted the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, the people drove them out of the town.

152. A CHANGE AT HAND.—The spirit of the Reformation had long been working quietly in Scotland. Its doctrines spread rapidly among the people, who welcomed many English converts during (1554-58) the persecuting reign of Mary. The Reformers of Scotland had secured toleration, but not till after the second return of Knox did they acquire supremacy. In 1558 the year before that event, Walter Mill, a quiet country priest of blameless life, was burned at St Andrews for heresy. The people raised a cairn of stones on the spot where he suffered ; and replaced them by night as often as they were removed by day. This was the last attempt of the Romish Church in Scotland to silence its opponents by the flames. That church, in 1559, the year of Knox's arrival, made some attempts at improving the lives of its members, when the clergy passed such sharp statutes, that Bishop Leslie said they were 'the principal cause that a great number of young abbots, priors, deans, and beneficed men assisted to the enterprise and practice devised for the overthrow of the Catholic religion,' 'fearing themselves to be put according to the laws and statutes.'

153. **MARY OF GUISE.**—The queen-mother had been sixteen years in Scotland when (April 12, 1554) she became regent. If she understood the feelings of the people, her policy shewed that she had no disposition to humour them. The Scots had always been intolerant of foreigners holding offices of trust in the country; but the regent placed Frenchmen in several important positions. The Earl of Huntly was replaced as chancellor by one Frenchman, and as governor of Orkney by another. The regent built a fort at Eyemouth, and garrisoned it with French soldiers. She had a plan for converting the strongholds of the great barons into royal fortresses, in which she, doubtless, hoped to station French troops. When she hinted to old Angus that his castle of Tantallon might do for a royal fortress, he answered it might if he himself were governor, for he was certain no one else could hold it. Instead of depending on the musters of the feudal barons, she wished, like the rulers of France, to have a standing army at her disposal, by which, she said, the country would be guarded against sudden attack. She was told that the people could defend themselves now as well as before; and that the country could not maintain idle men.

154. **THE QUEEN'S FIRST MARRIAGE.**—Queen Mary was married to the French dauphin, April 24, 1558. Six Scots commissioners were sent to France, and took every means for preserving the rights and separate nationality of their country. Yet Mary, whether at the instance of the French court or of the Guises, signed away Scotland, its rights, and its revenues, as if dealing with her private property. The dauphin was allowed to take the title of king of Scots, and demanded the regalia, which was

refused.' At Dieppe, on their return, three of the commissioners took ill and died. It was said that the French court took means to prevent these men carrying home the knowledge they had acquired. Henry II. of France having died from a wound at a tournament in 1559, Mary's husband succeeded as Francis II., and the French court acted as if Scotland was one of its provinces.

155. MARY AND ELIZABETH.—Mary of England died in 1558, and her husband, Philip II. of Spain, would fain have married her successor Elizabeth, in order to retain England in the service of the pope. Failing in this, he raised the question of Elizabeth's right to the throne. Every Catholic held that no marriage was lawful unless sanctioned by the church; and that no marriage could be dissolved without papal authority. But the pope had refused to divorce Catharine, his first wife, from Henry VIII., and had pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn, his second wife, and the mother of Elizabeth, to be null and void. Catharine lived for some years after Elizabeth's birth; and the Catholic powers held that she remained Henry's wife; that Anne Boleyn was no wife at all; that Elizabeth was illegitimate, and could never be heir to the throne; and that Mary, queen of Scots, was now the true heir, and the rightful queen of England. Mary at once claimed and took the title. Elizabeth had all the Catholic powers arrayed against her. The Catholics of England were exposed to distracting claims. Parliament required them to obey Elizabeth as queen; but their church bade them drive her from the throne as a usurper, and put Mary in her place. Elizabeth's great minister, Cecil, now strove to make friends of the Scots, whose forces could not, if he

succeeded, be used by Mary against a sovereign with whom her nation was in alliance.

156. JOHN KNOX.—John Knox was born at Giffordgate, Haddington, in 1505, educated at Haddington grammar-school and the university of Glasgow, and ordained shortly before 1530. He professed Protestantism about 1543, was deposed from the priest's office, took shelter with Douglas of Longniddry, was attached to Wishart, and was present at his capture. On his release from the galleys, he remained four years in England, where he was appointed chaplain to Edward VI. He became acquainted with Cranmer, and was not without influence in settling the reformation of the Anglican Church. Knox came to Scotland in 1555, but soon left for the charge of the English church at Geneva, where he formed an intimacy with Calvin. Being strongly urged to come home, he returned (May 2, 1559); and, after this, the Reformers became the controlling power in Scotland. His influence among the people was immense, for his language was homely and plain, and his course clear and decided. Few had his singleness of purpose; and a man less clear-sighted and determined, might have been pushed aside or used as an instrument for ends of which he did not approve. But he became the master-spirit; others could not work without him, and he would work only in his own away. Friends and foes knew what he would do, and how. He, in accordance with the spirit of the age, had no idea of toleration; nor did he think that he was bound to grant it to those who never allowed it to others.

157. THE FIRST COVENANT.—Several preachers in

different parts of Scotland were already using the English service-book of Edward VI. In December 1557, a number of the landed gentry made a band or covenant to 'continually apply their whole power, substance, and their very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation;' 'to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people;' and to have 'in all parishes of this realm, the common-prayer read weekly, on Sunday, and other festival days; publicly in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament.' The subscribers took the name of 'the Lords of the Congregation.'

158. POPULAR OUTBREAKS.—Next year, in Edinburgh, the image of St Giles was cast into the North Loch and afterwards burned. The priests, either to shew their hold on the people or to revive the fading devotion they could not help observing, borrowed another image, and made a great procession on St Giles's day. But the people jostled them, cast down and broke the image, and chased away the priests and the friars. Contentions and riotings ensued in 1559, in various parts of the country. The outrages committed on monastic and other ecclesiastical edifices were deplorable; the result being that many of the finest specimens of architecture were heedlessly laid in ruin. The mischief was substantially the work of enraged mobs, who were indiscriminate in their assaults on ecclesiastical property. An order was at length issued, authorising the removal of all symbols of the Roman Catholic worship, and enjoining the preservation of desks, windows, and doors in the several

churches. The damage, however, was in a great measure already done. The dispersal of the old clergy and monastics was attended with much suffering.

159. THE REFORMATION was thus, in Scotland, effected in a rough and vengeful manner, unlike what had, some years previously, taken place in England. In addition to popular disturbances, there was now (1559) war between the Lords of the Congregation and the regent, Mary of Guise. She drew aid from France, and fortified herself in Leith. The lords were aided by Elizabeth, in terms of a treaty at Berwick, 1560, in which she guards against assisting rebellion, and they against yielding anything to England. Troubles in France required the French troops to be withdrawn from Scotland, and a treaty was made at Edinburgh, in which Mary was to acknowledge Elizabeth as queen of England, and no foreigners were to be employed in Scotland without the consent of the Estates. The regent, Mary of Guise, died June 1560, and the Estates met in August, adopted a reformed confession of faith founded on that of Geneva, repealed all acts in favour of any other worship, and abjured the authority of the pope. The affairs of the church were to be managed by a general assembly of ministers and laymen, and ceremonies were held to be appointed not for all places and times, but to be altered when they became helps to superstition more than to edification. Neither the treaty nor these acts were confirmed by Queen Mary.

160. TEMPORALITIES, 1561.—Of the church properties, two-thirds were to belong to the old possessors, falling to the crown as these died out; and the other third was to be given, ‘sae muckle to the queen’s majesty’ ‘for the common affairs of the country,’ ‘sae

muckle' 'unto the sustentation of the ministry,' 'and the surplus unto the old possessors.' In towns, the monastic establishments, both buildings and revenues, were to be used for the establishment of schools and colleges. But many of these endowments had already been bargained away, some much below their value; and they could seldom be recovered from the nobles who had acquired them. We are told how the Earl of Cassilis got the lands of the abbeys of Glenluce and Crossraguel. He was bargaining for the former when the abbot died without signing the deeds. A monk was made to counterfeit the abbot's hand, a man was induced to stab the monk, and a person was got to accuse the murderer, who was hanged. In the latter case, the commendator or factor, shy of signing the writs, was waylaid, carried before the earl, stripped, and basted with grease before a roaring fire till he gave in. The Reformed Church inherited less than a third of the wealth possessed by the Church of Rome.

161. THE SCOTS.—Mary, who had been brought up amid the splendour of the gay and frivolous court of France, found Scotland very different. It was a poor country; its capital and court were very unlike those of France; its people lacked refinement. The nobles were unpolished; they did not refrain from plain-speaking; and often entered the royal presence straight from the camp or the field. Some had aped the manners of the French, but had succeeded only in acquiring their vices.

1554-60. MARY—*continued*; Mary of Guise regent.

1557. The Lords of the Congregation.

1558. Mill burned; marriage of Mary.

1559. Mary queen of France; Knox returns.

1560. Mary of Guise died.

Awakening of thought; power, corruption, and interference of the church; disaffection of the people; the Catholics hold Elizabeth as a usurper; John Knox; Lords of the Congregation; popular outbreaks; the Reformation; French and Scots contrasted.

XXIII. MARY—*Continued*: 1561–67.

Mary's return ; Power of Murray ; Darnley ; Philip of Spain ; Rizzio.

162. MARY'S RETURN.—Mary's husband, Francis II., died December 15, 1560, and the Scots were anxious that she should come home, hoping thereby to escape from the influence of France and the Guises. The Reformers and the Roman Catholics both endeavoured to gain her to their side. The Lords of the Congregation sent her illegitimate brother, Lord James Murray, the most distinguished among them for ability and character, to France to represent their views. Lords Huntly, Athole, Crawford, Marischal, and Sutherland, who represented the old party, sent Leslie, bishop of Ross, to ask the queen to land at Aberdeen, where 20,000 men would be at her disposal. Her counsellors in France advised her to depend for a time chiefly upon the friends of the reformed religion. With an escort in four vessels she sailed from Calais. During the five hours of daylight, she sat looking through her tears at the land she had left. She slept on deck, with the hope of again seeing it at dawn, when she sat up, and watched till it faded out of sight. She reached Leith (August 19, 1561), where preparations for her reception had not been completed, and she had to wait till horses were procured, for carriages there were none. She went to Holyrood on horseback. On the first Sunday of her residence in Edinburgh, while at private mass in her chapel, the people would have burst in had not Lord

James defended the door. She issued a proclamation declaring it penal to interfere with the 'form of religion found standing on the queen's arrival,' but requiring that her French followers should not be molested in the private exercise of their religion. She soon had an interview with Knox, who contended for the cause of the Reformers, and at whose 'words the queen stood amazed more than the quarter of an hour.' But her influence was not so firmly resisted by many of the lords, who said, 'the queen should have her religion free in her own chapel, to do, she and her household, what they list.'

163. MURRAY AND HUNTLY.—Lord James, created Earl of Murray, was the chief minister of Queen Mary. Part of the lands of his earldom were in the hands of Huntly, who, though the head of the old party, had secured a goodly share of the church property. He ruled all the north-west, and held broad acres in the north-east, living like a secondary prince at Strathbogie. Murray and the queen made a royal progress through the north; and the castle of Inverness, held by a retainer of Huntly, being closed against them, was taken, and the governor hanged. On returning to Aberdeen, Huntly came up with them at Corrichie, near Banchory on the Dee. Huntly fell in the fight, and his power was broken (1562). The Reformers seemed to enjoy the favour of the queen, but it is now known from her letters that she was biding her time, and was resolved to restore the old faith even at the peril of her life. Meanwhile, she courted popularity and gained it. She rode helmeted among her troops, and might be seen hawking and hunting in various districts. With her allowance as queen-dowager of France, she was able to live in a splendid style.

164. **MARY'S SUITORS.**—Her people both expected and desired the queen to marry. At home, the young Earl of Arran, who was next to the throne, had considerable hopes of obtaining her hand, but he became insane. There were suitors from different nations of Europe. Elizabeth recommended the Earl of Leicester, perhaps to remove from herself a temptation she could not resist. Mary herself and the Guises preferred Don Carlos, heir to Philip of Spain; but Catharine de' Medici contrived to prevent the match. While Mary was at Wemyss Castle, in Fife, there came to her from England, where he was first prince of the blood, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, her own cousin, son of the Earl of Lennox, and grandson of Margaret, widow of James IV. It was soon observed how the young widow regarded the tall handsome youth. In three months the intended marriage with him was announced by her to an assembly at Stirling. Darnley was made Earl of Ross and Duke of Albany, and (July 29, 1565) married the queen.

165. **THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION DRIVEN OUT.**—Without calling a parliament, the queen proclaimed Darnley king of the Scots. He belonged to the old party, which was recovering its strength. The Gordons were regaining power in the north, and Huntly's sister was married to the Earl of Bothwell, a bold and unscrupulous man, who rose rapidly to high power and favour with the queen. This gave great offence to Murray and other leaders of the reforming party; they absented themselves from certain military levies which loyal barons were bound to attend; and Murray was threatened with a prosecution for treason if he continued to stay away from them. He combined with other discontented lords to

offer resistance. Assembling at Paisley while the royal forces marched to Glasgow, the Lords of the Congregation passed to Hamilton, where Arran was expected to join them, but held back. Having moved to Edinburgh, where they gained no recruits and were fired on by the castle, they retired to Dumfries, and issued a declaration 'that he was made king over them that hath neither the title thereof by any lineal descent of blood and nature, neither by consent of the Estates.' On the approach of the queen's army, which had followed them, they dismissed their followers, and retired to Carlisle. The Reformation seemed to be in great danger. The lords might have kept in power, had Elizabeth aided them, as her ministers urged, while they had not yet broken with their queen. But assistance to those in arms against their sovereign was against her inclination, and might have been turned against herself.

166. ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.—The Irish chiefs who were in arms against Elizabeth, and several great families in England suspected of favouring the claims of Mary to the throne, were acting in harmony with the views of Philip of Spain. His great scheme was to have her firmly seated in Scotland, and the Roman Catholic Church restored; to dethrone Elizabeth, and put Mary in her place; to raise the party represented by the Guises to full power in France, and crush out the Huguenots; and with the combined power of these states to root Protestantism out of Europe, and form a holy empire under the pope. Mary urgently asked forces from France; and had these been supplied, she might have crushed opposition in Scotland, and marched upon London as she threatened. But Catharine de' Medici, though she

hated the Huguenots, had no love for the Guises ; and instead of giving the forces Mary demanded, sent an envoy urging compromise both on her and the discontented lords. So the Scots were left to settle their own affairs ; and Philip's armada was delayed till the condition of things had passed away for which it was planned, and which promised it success.

167. DARNLEY AND RIZZIO.—Other matters occupied Mary's care. Her warm love for her husband soon passed into coldness and contempt, for Darnley was a libertine and a fool. He complained that she did not keep her promise to give him the 'crown matrimonial,' in virtue of which, if the queen had died without children, the throne would have passed to him, and to his heirs. He became jealous of her frequent and close interviews with an Italian, David Rizzio, who had entered her service as a musician, but was soon employed in her private foreign correspondence. Proud of his possession of important secrets, and sure of the queen's favour, Rizzio became vain and presumptuous. Nothing is more significant of the wretched morals of the period than a resolution that was formed by Darnley and others to assassinate Rizzio. Darnley arranged for his death with Lord Ruthven and others, who required the prince to sign a bond, offensive and defensive, in which he came under a special pledge to protect the 'banders,' should the assassination be committed in the presence of the queen or within the palace of Holyrood. As a further condition, Ruthven required Darnley to enter into a bond with the exiled lords to restore them to their estates and dignities, and to maintain the Protestant religion.

168. RIZZIO'S MURDER.—Mary assembled a parliament to devise measures for the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church, and for the punishment of the lords who were in rebellion. The parliament assembled, was opened by the queen in person, and a statute of treason against Murray was prepared; but the proceedings were arrested in a frightful way. Five days after the parliament met, the Earl of Morton, who was chancellor, with 150 men bearing torches and weapons, occupied (March 9, 1566) the court of Holyrood palace, and closed the gates. The greater part being left below, Darnley took several of the conspirators into his own room, and led Ruthven by a secret stair into a small closet which was entered from the queen's bed-chamber. The queen, Lady Argyle, Rizzio (sitting with his cap on), and a few attendants, were alarmed by the haggard appearance in armour of Ruthven, who had just risen from a sick-bed. He said to the queen: 'Let yonder man Davie come forth from your presence, for he hath been over-long there.' The queen rose up, standing at the recess of the window, while Rizzio crouched behind, clutching at her gown. As Ruthven shook off the attendants, others of the conspirators rushed in, and Rizzio was dragged out. Ruthven placed the queen in Darnley's arms, and bade her not be afraid, as they would spend their heart's blood for her, and were doing her husband's bidding. The original plan was to take Rizzio to Darnley's chamber, and to hang him afterwards; but in the scuffle he was hurled along, and was slain at the door to the queen's apartments.

169. RETURN OF THE LORDS.—The murder was committed late on Saturday evening. Darnley left with Ruthven to prepare proclamations to be issued for

dissolving the parliament. Next day the exiled lords arrived in Edinburgh, taking advantage of what they knew had been done. On Monday Mary received the conspirators in audience, promised to forget all that had happened, and sent them away to draw up in writing their own terms of security, which she said she would sign. A bond was drawn up, and given to her that night. She expressed approval of the articles, and said she would sign the bond in the morning. Already the queen had won over Darnley, and affected to believe in his innocence. She, along with her husband, escaped after midnight, and rode with seven followers to Seton House, where she got a larger escort, and was in Dunbar Castle before morning. The following day the lords presented themselves at the parliament-house, and protested that they were now free from all the charges preferred against them, as they had appeared according to summons, and no one had accused them.

170. BOTHWELL.—In two weeks Bothwell, with two hundred horsemen, brought the queen back to her capital, and Darnley was shunned by all. In the castle of Edinburgh, a son, afterwards James VI., was born, June 19, 1566. Bothwell was raised to greater wealth and power, was appointed high admiral, and received the rich abbey lands of Melrose and Haddington. He was also made warder of the Marches, though this office, as giving too much power to one man, had usually been divided among three, who were set over the east, the middle, and the west Marches. Soon after this, the queen's life was despaired of, from a fever taken after a ride of forty miles across the rough country between Jedburgh and Hermitage. She had gone to see Bothwell who was lying ill of

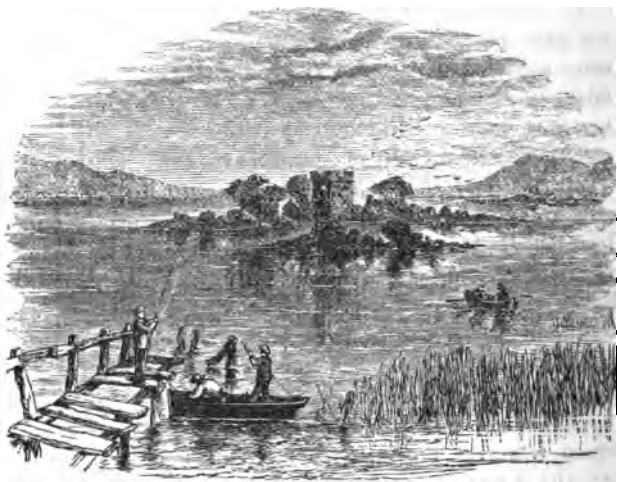
a wound, and returned after a stay of two hours. As soon as she was able to be removed, she went by short stages to Craigmillar, where some great grief seemed to weigh upon her. Here a divorce from Darnley having been rejected, lest it might injure her son, it was proposed to get rid of him by some other way. Darnley was soon after seized with a sudden illness, which broke out on his skin. Poison was suspected, and small-pox declared; but it was probably the result of vicious living. As he recovered, Bothwell proposed to some a bond for his death, which he said was desired by the queen. They thought it unsafe either to join in or to reveal the plot. Darnley, who was at Glasgow under the charge of his father, was visited by the queen (January 22, 1567), who seemed fond and attentive, and persuaded him to come to Craigmillar as soon as he was able.

171. KIRK-OF-FIELD.—Darnley was removed to Edinburgh on the 31st, but was taken neither to Craigmillar nor to Holyrood, but to an antiquated, empty house, formerly the residence of the provost of the religious house of St Mary-in-the-Fields. It stood near the site of the present university, just within the south wall of the city, with the ruins of Kirk-of-Field on the west of it. Some slight repairs had been made in the house, and a few rooms up-stairs had been furnished from Holyrood; while a bedroom, immediately under the king's, had been prepared for the queen, who slept there on the nights of Wednesday and Friday, and was to have done so on Sunday night. On that day (February 9, 1566-7), there were festivities in Holyrood, on account of the marriage of a favourite French domestic of the queen to one of her women.

172. THE MURDER.—Bothwell had arranged the plot to murder Darnley, with a Frenchman named Hubert, three of his own servants, Hepburn a relative, the laird of Ormiston and his uncle, and young Hay of Talla. From his own apartments in the palace, Bothwell sent a large quantity of gunpowder, which was conveyed round the outside of the city wall, introduced by a small postern near the house, and placed in the queen's bedroom, where a train was laid. This had scarcely been done, when the queen, coming about ten o'clock, passed her own room, and entered the king's. In the midst of a general conversation, suddenly recollecting that she had to attend a masked-ball in the palace, she left at once, after bidding the king good-night. Bothwell went with her, but returned after changing his rich attire for a coarser one. His arrival was the signal to light the match. It was lighted about two in the morning. The explosion aroused the city, and a crowd gathered round the scene. Apparently, the king and his page, alarmed and trying to escape, had been seized and strangled in the garden, where they were found with marks of violence but not of fire. There had not been time to carry back the bodies into the house, that death might seem to have been caused by the explosion. Bothwell after the murder hastened to the palace, and was soon after aroused, as from sleep, with news of what had occurred. He went with Huntly to the queen, set out to make inquiries, stationed a guard at Kirk-of-Field, removed the bodies while he forbade their inspection, and returning, held a private interview with the queen, who had not yet risen. The body was interred in the chapel of Holyrood with a secrecy that occasioned remark.

173. JUSTICE DEFEATED.—A paper was affixed to the door of the parliament-house charging Bothwell with the murder; but the course of justice was stayed mainly by the influence of the crown. A trial was at last held on April 12, but Bothwell was neither taken into custody nor prosecuted by the law-officers. The Earl of Lennox, father of the murdered prince, cited to make good his accusation, was forbidden to bring more than his own household, while Bothwell held the city with 4000 men and the command of the castle. Lennox sent one of his household to protest against the proceedings; but the crime was denied by Bothwell; no evidence was led; and the jury pronounced an acquittal, protesting that they were not to be blamed if justice was defeated. Soon after, on returning from seeing her son at Stirling, Mary was met west of Edinburgh by Bothwell with 800 men, and carried off without resistance to his castle of Dunbar. Their marriage was now talked of; but Bothwell had still a wife, Lady Jane Gordon. While this lady sued in the civil court for a divorce on very sufficient grounds, the queen gave commission to the archbishop of St Andrews and several other clergy to pronounce the divorce, on the grounds that they were too nearly related and that there had been no dispensation for the marriage. A dispensation did exist, however, granted by the same archbishop; and the relationship between them was very remote. The civil divorce was granted on the 3d and that by the archbishop on the 7th of May. Bothwell was made Duke of Orkney and Shetland on the 12th of the same month. Three days later (May 15, 1567), he was married to the queen in the presence chamber at Holyrood, and according to Protestant form.

174. **MARY SURRENDERS.**—Opposition was rising. A muster was called by the queen to settle some troubles on the Borders; but the Border chiefs who were expected to respond to the summons shewed signs of hostility. Mary and Bothwell, seeing their danger, had scarcely shut themselves in Borthwick Castle, when Morton and Home surrounded it with 700 men. Bothwell escaped, and Mary, disguised as a page, joined him in the night, and rode to Dunbar. On 12th June, the ‘privy-council and nobility’ charged Bothwell with the murder of Darnley,



LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.

seducing his sovereign into ‘ane unhonest marriage,’ and wishing to do to her son as he had done to the father. Three days after, Bothwell, with about 4000 men hastily

gathered, took up a position behind some of the earthworks left by the English at Carberry-hill after the battle of Pinkie. His opponents met him with 400 foot and 1800 cavalry excellently mounted. The French ambassador tried to mediate, but the confederates required Bothwell either to come out to combat or to leave the queen. Many of his men dropping away, and the rest seeming shy of battle, Bothwell rode off. It was the last time Queen Mary and he ever saw each other. The queen surrendered, was received with reverence by the confederates, and was conducted to the capital on horseback. As she was conveyed up the High Street to the provost's house opposite the cross, the Edinburgh mob shamefully reviled her. The confederates sent her (June 16, 1567) to Lochleven Castle, a fortress belonging to Douglas, one of the confederates.

175. THE CASKET OF LETTERS.—Hitherto none but the common people charged Mary with the murder; but (June 20, 1567) a casket which Bothwell had left in Edinburgh Castle and now sent for, fell into the hands of Earl Morton. Besides the marriage-contract and some other documents, it contained eight letters and several sonnets in the queen's hand. From the evidence thus supplied, the confederates at once regarded her as being acquainted with the design of murdering her husband. The existence of these letters can be traced down to June 20, 1603, when they were given up to James VI., who seems to have destroyed them. Those who do not believe in Mary's guilt allege they were forgeries. But nobody at the time said so, not even Mary's partisans, either in parliament or otherwise. Till this day, there is a controversy among historians as to the amount of her

guilty knowledge of this infamous transaction. Bothwell, escaping to Orkney with Grange in pursuit, bought a vessel and sailed for Norway. The vessel, known as a pirate, was captured by a Danish ship and taken to Bergen, where Bothwell was set free. The Danes refused to deliver him to the Scots, and spread a rumour of his death in 1573; but he lived till 1578, and died in the castle of Draxholm in Zealand.

1561-67. MARY ruling as queen.

1561. Mary's return to Scotland.

1562. Huntly defeated at Corrichie.

1565. Marriage of Mary and Darnley.

1566. Murder of Rizzio; birth of James.

1567. Murder of Darnley; marriage with Bothwell; defeat at Carberry; Mary, imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, abdicates the throne.

Mary leaned on the reformed party; made Moray her chief minister; the old party revives; the lords banished; the queen's marriage; estrangement from Darnley; rise of Bothwell; murder of Rizzio; murder of Darnley; marriage with Bothwell; popular resentment; defeat at Carberry; imprisonment of Mary; the casket of letters.

XXIV. JAMES VI: 1567-81.

Regencies of Murray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton.

176. In Lochleven Castle, Mary signed (July 24, 1567) three documents, one renouncing the crown in favour of her son, the second appointing Murray

regent, and a third naming several lords as a collective regency till he came home. In the High Church at Stirling, on the 29th, the infant king was crowned, a special oath to maintain 'the true religion of Jesus Christ' being taken by Morton as sponsor for him. Elizabeth was both disappointed and angry at the revolution which had thus been wrought in Scotland. She believed that, as subjects, the Scots lords had no right to judge their sovereign. Further, she fully expected that the discontented statesmen who had brought about the change would have gone to herself to seek redress for their grievances. And, besides, it would have suited her designs better if the revolutionary contest had been more fierce; for, then, she might have interfered otherwise than by advice. She refused to acknowledge the new government. But her ambassador found that the people of Scotland entertained a firm belief that Mary was guilty of the murder of Darnley, and wished that she should be brought to trial. The Scots council sympathised with the people. When the ambassador wished Maitland of Lethington to press some of Elizabeth's views on his colleagues, he replied: 'I assure you, if you should use this speech unto them which you do unto me, all the world could not save the queen's life three days.' The queen had scattered adherents; but the Hamiltons, regarded as their head, scarcely favoured her restoration.

177. MURRAY.—Murray, who was in France when he was appointed regent, did not return till August to be installed in office. Elizabeth, through her ambassador, tried to separate him from his party, but the regent answered: 'I do mean to ware my life in defence of their action, and will either reduce all men to obedience,

in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life.' When invasion was threatened, he said that the Scots would do as they had done before. When asked to release the queen if Bothwell were taken and executed, he replied : 'They could not merchandise for the bear's skin before they had him,' or 'fish so far before the net.' A parliament, called in December, ratified the acts of 1560 (which Mary had never signed) for abolishing popery and establishing the Reformation, with the Book of Discipline and the 'Book of our Common Ordour, called Ordour of Geneva,' and commonly known as Knox's Liturgy. Four of Darnley's murderers were hanged, and the command of Edinburgh Castle was given to Kirkcaldy of Grange, an able soldier, an early reformer, and a friend of Murray and Knox.

178. ESCAPE OF MARY.—It was thought that in the castle of Lochleven Mary would be quite secure. There is nothing to shew that the state of the building or the conduct of her keepers subjected her to needless discomfort or harshness. The lady of the fortress was the mother of Murray. Her son, George Douglas, won over by Mary, was removed from the castle, but left a confederate behind in William Douglas, a lad of eighteen, whose relationship to the family is not known. He got the keys one night (May 2, 1568), after the castle had been closed ; took the queen through the gates, which he locked as they passed out ; and with the only boat he had not already disabled, rowed to the shore, where George Douglas, Lord Seton, and a few others were waiting. Having crossed the Forth at some point not known, they made for Niddry Castle, about two miles west from Kirkliston, and next morning, with increased numbers, passed on to Hamilton Palace. Their force soon

increased to 6000; but the Hamiltons were cold, as Mary's escape put them farther from the throne. Aid was asked from England and France; but no succour was sent, and the country not rising in her favour, Mary moved towards Dumbarton, which was still held for her.

179. LANGSIDE.—Murray, who had been called upon to resign his regency and be forgiven, gathered 4500 troops at Glasgow. About two miles southward of Glasgow, on the road from Hamilton to Dumbarton, the village of Langside stands on a rising ground, and ought to have been occupied by the forces of Mary. Grange, Murray's second in command, threw forward a small body of horsemen, each with a musketeer behind him, and seized the village. The queen's vanguard received a deadly fire from the hedges and cottage gardens. There was hard fighting when the heavy armed soldiers in the respective front ranks met; the spears of each side stuck in the armour of the men on the opposite side, and for a time two rows of iron separated the armies. Grange charged, and the enemy broke and fled. Murray lost one man, and the queen's party 300. Mary, with Lord Herries and five others, fled to Sanquhar; next to Terregles, Lord Herries's house, a little west of Dumfries; and then to Dundrennan Abbey. From thence, with twenty attendants, she crossed the Solway to Workington. Some Cumberland gentlemen accompanied her to Cockermouth, where the governor of Carlisle met her with an escort. The battle was on the 13th of May, and she entered England on the 16th. The flight was unfortunate, but unavoidable, for the difficulty which the government had found in sparing her life had been greatly increased by recent events.

180. MARY IN ENGLAND.—In safety, Mary soon recovered her spirits, and resumed her intrigues. She saw or communicated with several of the old party in England, and wrote to the continent that she had hopes of being queen of England—a claim which she never relinquished. As Carlisle was too open and near the Borders, she was removed to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire. She pleaded for an interview with Elizabeth, to reveal something touching her safety which she had never uttered to any creature. Elizabeth refused till Mary was cleared of her husband's death, and desired the case to be submitted to her judgment, the Scots not being admitted as accusers, but called to excuse their dealings with their sovereign if they could.

181. THE TRIAL.—Commissioners from the Scots, Elizabeth, and Mary met at York (1568). It was arranged between the two queens that if Mary were cleared, Elizabeth would replace her with full powers; and, in any case, would endeavour to put her on the throne, though it might be conjointly with her son. Mary was to do what she could to introduce the English Prayer-book into Scotland, if the Estates would consent. She knew they would not, but for a time she seemed interested and pleased with the English service. Mary's commissioners at York had 'authority and power to treat, conclude, and decern upon all matters and causes in controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects, so always as the same do not touch the title of her crown nor sovereignty thereof.' Neither on the part of Mary nor of the Scots is there the least indication that Elizabeth was acknowledged as judge or superior. Yet on this point the conference nearly came to a standstill. Mary's commissioners

lodged a protest that, in taking the counsel of England, she did not submit to any prince or judge on earth ; and Elizabeth's commissioners affirmed that 'they neither did nor would admit or allow the same to be in anywise hurtful or prejudicial to the right, title, and interest incident to the crown of England, which the kings of this realm have claimed, had, and enjoyed, as superiors over the realm of Scotland.' Murray's face flushed anger, and Maitland of Lethington scornfully said, when the land from the Humber to the Tweed was restored, it would be time to speak of homage for the same ; and, 'as to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, it was freer than England had been lately, when it paid St Peter's penny to the pope.' The Scots commissioners stated their case, and rested on the queen's abdication. The casket of letters was not formally produced, but was shewn to the English commissioners, who had evidently not seen them before, but believed them to be genuine, and they applied to their government for instructions. The conference was removed (October 24, 1568) to London, and Hampton Court was the place of meeting. The damaging letters were now produced. All this led to no decision or treaty, and left matters nearly as they were.

182. MURRAY SLAIN.—The Hamiltons, making peace with the regent, were to have their estates restored ; but the hostages promised were not given, and the forfeitures remained. Murray soon quieted the north, where Huntly had been harrying the king's friends. The south Borders were next attended to ; and the result was that they gave such obedience as 'never was done to no king in no man's days before.' Disorder was put down in the land, but famine and pestilence came.

The regent passing from Stirling to Edinburgh was to go in state through Linlithgow, where the houses stood on each side of a long street, and the gardens extended behind. A house belonging to Archbishop Hamilton had a balcony in front, which was covered with hangings, as the other houses probably were on the occasion. There James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was waiting to commit a cowardly murder. The regent had received some warning; but the people, crowding to honour him, prevented his passing quickly, and gave the assassin time to take a good aim. He fired; the bullet passed through the regent's body, and killed a horse on the further side (January 23, 1570). Murray knew he had met his death, and awaited it some hours with his usual calmness and courage. He had never used his power for evil purposes, nor sought to turn his difficulties to selfish ends. If he governed with a strong hand, his rule was not above the law, but for it; and the people long mourned and spoke of him as 'the good regent.' The murderer escaped through the garden behind, where a horse was waiting for him.

183. THE REGENTS.—The death of Murray led to a succession of regents, under whom affairs were in a disorderly condition. The period of these regencies was about the most deplorable in Scottish history. As a beginning of the disorders, the Scotts and Kerrs, with some refugees, made a raid into England, and Elizabeth, without waiting to ask for redress, invaded the south and Clydesdale. If the people liked Mary ill, they liked an English invasion worse. Lennox, who came from England, where he generally lived, was made regent. Maitland and Grange went over to the queen's party,

who thus gained the castle of Edinburgh. But Dumbarton was taken for the king by Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, with the assistance of a hundred picked men, volunteers from Glasgow. The fort was taken by them without losing a man (April 2, 1571). Besides much spoil, they captured Archbishop Hamilton, who was put to death at Stirling five days afterwards. In May an attempt was made by the Estates to hold a meeting of parliament in a part of Edinburgh outside the city wall; but no business could be transacted, because the castle was held by the queen's party. In August the parliament met at Stirling. The Earl of Huntly brought from Edinburgh 380 horsemen, each with a musketeer behind him, and early in the morning seized the town. The men broke up to plunder, and the garrison were roused and drove them off. Regent Lennox was shot in the scuffle (1571).

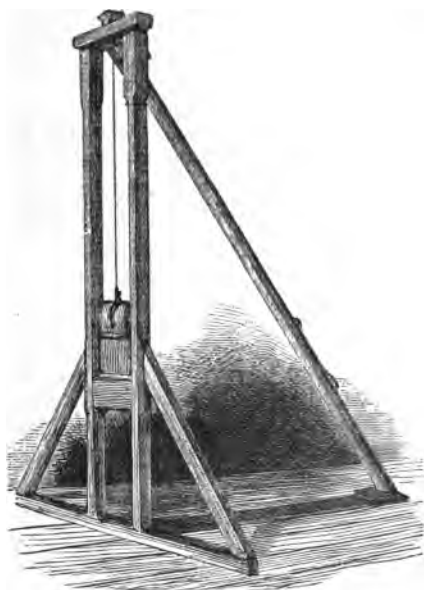
184. REGENCY OF MAR.—Mar was chosen regent, and the country was drifting into all the horrors of civil war, without actual opposing armies. Though no great battle was fought, there was more slaughter than would have served for many. The bulk of the Lowlands were king's men; but the Hamiltons, Maxwells, and Kerrs divided the west and south for the queen, and Huntly lorded it over the north in her interest. As Mar said, 'neither king nor queen was in either of their minds, but only profit by their own partialities and ambitious greediness and vengeance.' Grange held Edinburgh with the guns of the castle, and with others planted on the spire and church of St Giles; and the king's party held Leith, with a battery on the Calton Hill. Many citizens withdrew from the capital, and John Knox removed to St Andrews.

A truce between the two contending parties was made in August 1572 for two months, and continued to the end of the year. Mar died in October, and was succeeded by Morton.

185. **REGENCY OF MORTON.**—During the truce, John Knox returned to Edinburgh, so weak, that he took more than a week to come from St Andrews. He preached at the induction of his successor, and, fifteen days after, died (November 24, 1572), an honest, fearless man. He had not merely faith in his purposes, but faith in his plans; and the people had confidence in both. Elizabeth, though pressed both by parliament and by convocation to deal with Mary as the real plotter of insurrection, wished to restore her to Scotland; but Morton resisted, saying, the government of the Scots was no concern of the English. The news of the massacre of St Bartholomew (August 25, 1572) struck all Protestants with horror and terror, and gave a powerful impetus to the Reformation in Scotland. The people became more decidedly Presbyterian. The truce ended with the year, and 1500 English were sent to assist the king's party in the siege of Edinburgh Castle. Grange made an obstinate defence, but had to surrender, and (August 3, 1573) was hanged at the market-cross. Maitland is said to have taken poison. None equalled him in variety of knowledge and fertility of resource; but, patriot though he was, he was generally distrusted. With these two died the hopes of the queen's party.

186. **FALL OF MORTON.**—Mary's rich treasury of jewels had passed into various hands. Morton set himself to recover these, and displeased Argyle by making him

restore a number of the most valuable of them, which were held by his lady, the widow of Murray. Athole and Argyle, having drawn out their forces against each other in a quarrel about a notorious reiver whom the latter befriended, were cited by Morton for breaking the king's



THE MAIDEN.

peace, and afterwards united against him. From France came D'Aubigné, uncle of Darnley, with the airs and polish of a French courtier. He gained power over James, and was made Duke of Lennox. Through his influence, Stewart of Ochiltree, an able but profligate

man, who had served in the Netherlands, was raised to the earldom of Arran. These also joined against Morton, who was charged with having taken a part in the murder of Darnley, and beheaded (June 2, 1581) by 'the maiden,' an early guillotine which is still to be seen in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. He was a brave man and an able ruler; but his sincerity was doubted, and he never became popular.

1567-1581. JAMES VI.

1567. Mary abdicated; Murray regent.

1568. Mary's escape and flight to England.

1570. Murray shot; Lennox regent.

1572. Death of Mar and John Knox.

1573. Grange executed.

1581. Morton beheaded.

Mary abdicated, escaped, was defeated at Langside, and fled to England. Elizabeth refused an interview, and confined Mary in Carlisle and Bolton Castle. Conferences at York and Hampton Court led to nothing; firm rule of Murray; subsequent contention and quarrels.

XXV. JAMES VI.—*Continued*: 1581-1603.

Raid of Ruthven; Execution of Mary; The Gowrie Plot.

1587. RAID OF RUTHVEN.—No one succeeded Morton as regent, and the government was nominally conducted by James. A scheme for 'associating' Mary with her son in the government was promoted by France, but

received little countenance from James, who was as unwilling to relinquish power as he was unfit to exercise it. Interest and not policy guided Lennox and Arran, who were not trusted by the people, while the nobles envied their influence with the king. James, who was a keen though not a graceful huntsman, went (August 22, 1581) for his favourite sport to the Earl of Gowrie's castle of Ruthven, or Huntingtower, near Perth. Next morning, he found several nobles and 1000 armed men around the castle. For ten months the king was a prisoner, free to go where he chose, but always in the company of a train of well-armed followers. It was to deliver the king from the power of Lennox and Arran that the Raid of Ruthven was planned; Arran was imprisoned, and Lennox withdrew to France, where he soon died. While the king was at St Andrews, the approach of Huntly, Marischal, and Argyle, with superior numbers, delivered the king from a control which had been highly approved of by the Estates and the General Assembly. The two parties came to terms for a time; but the Ruthven lords, after having seized Stirling Castle, had to retire before superior forces. The greater number escaped to England, but Gowrie was executed in 1584, and Arran rose to more than his former power.

188. TEACHER AND SCHOLAR.—George Buchanan died (September 23, 1582), the best scholar of his period, besides being a patriot and poet. He had been charged with the education of James, and is said to have been a stern disciplinarian. James was made a scholar far beyond the princes of the time. When eight years of age, he could translate a chapter of the Latin Bible into both English and French. Buchanan wrote a book to teach him that the true greatness of kings was the just government of a free people. James did not learn the lesson well. He prided himself on 'kingcraft' or dissimulation, and

had very high notions of the divine right of kings. When he was a boy, people were astonished that he had the understanding of a man; and when a man, that he had the silliness of a boy. As he grew to manhood, the more striking became that uncouthness, unredeemed by any expression of earnest purpose or noble thought. Yet beauty of form had great influence over him, and the handsomest courtiers were his greatest favourites.

189. LEAGUE WITH ENGLAND.—D'Aubigné, son of that former favourite who had been made Earl of Lennox, brought with him from France a young man, Patrick Gray, whose fine appearance soon gave him influence with James. He was accredited to the English court as ambassador, and received as a person from whom more information was expected, than he was sent to give. As a Catholic and a confidant of the Guises, he knew several of Mary's secrets. Having become her agent, he learned more of them, all of which he revealed to Elizabeth. He joined in the plans for the overthrow of Arran, which the English court strongly desired; and suggested that the banished lords should be assisted to return. They being joined by the Maxwells and the exiled Hamiltons, marched from Selkirk with 8000 men upon Stirling; and as they could not be resisted, were allowed to pay 'their respects to their sovereign, from whom they had been so long debarred.' A league was made with England, and the estates of the Gowries were restored, though James had treated the widow with a cruelty which provoked the indignation of his people and the remonstrance of Elizabeth.

190. MARY IN ENGLAND.—From Bolton Castle, Mary was taken to Tutbury, a little north of Burton-on-Trent; then to Chatsworth in the Peak; and after that to Sheffield Castle (1570-84), an old fortress, with additional buildings in the Tudor style, and

large grounds. She was taken back to Tutbury; then to Chartley, in the neighbourhood; next to Tixall, east of Stafford; and last to Fotheringay, near Peterborough. Had she accepted her position, she might have lived with all the honour of a retired sovereign. She was allowed a large household, and had £30,000 a year as dowager of France. But she was ever intriguing, with wonderful ability and unwearied labour; and either Elizabeth or Mary must fall. In 1569, an insurrection in favour of Mary, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, was vigorously put down. The Duke of Norfolk was beheaded three years later for the part he took in a conspiracy to place Mary, whom he hoped to marry, on the English throne. But the plot which proved fatal to the ex-queen of Scotland was the Babington conspiracy, headed by Antony Babington, a rich young Derbyshire Catholic. To murder Elizabeth and rescue Mary was its twofold object. The plot was discovered, Babington was executed (September 20, 1586); thirteen other conspirators met a like fate; and evidence of Mary's complicity was said to be found in the correspondence which had been intercepted on the occasion. Mary, however, denied that the letters held to prove her guilty were written by her hand or with her knowledge; and the point has never been set at rest.

191. EXECUTION OF MARY.—Mary was put on her trial (October 14, 1586) at Fotheringay, for conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. The trial was prorogued at the end of the second day till the 25th, when the commissioners met in the star-chamber at Westminster, and passed sentence of death against her. A few days after, the English parliament confirmed the sentence, and petitioned Elizabeth to sanction its execution, urging that if she had no regard for her own life, she had duties to the throne, the freedom of England, and the safety of its religion. Elizabeth answered their prayer evasively. James would do nothing for his mother lest it should hurt his own interests. He commanded ministers to pray for her after sermon; but they did not feel inclined, and refused to obey the command, alleging that it interfered with religion. The English council confirmed and published the sentence in December, but the queen still withheld the warrant, and hinted that her ministers might do what they said should be done without it. They would not

act without order, and she gave the warrant (February 1, 1587), affecting, when too late, to recall it. Mary was beheaded seven days after in the castle hall of Fotheringay, and was buried with royal honours beside Catherine of Aragon. James called no meeting of the Estates with reference to the execution of his mother.

192. **THE ARMADA.**—The great Armada, planned by Philip II. of Spain to put Mary on the English throne, was continued to avenge her death. It left Lisbon in May 1588, and took two months to reach the channel. The English fleet destroyed some of the vessels, and severe storms eventually shattered it. The interest excited by the Armada in Scotland was intense; the Catholic lords hoped to take advantage of it for the restoration of their church; and the Presbyterian clergy appointed a general fast on account of the ‘flocking of Jesuits and papists to subvert the kirk within this country.’

193. **MARRIAGE OF JAMES.**—When James came of age (June 19, 1587), he invited his nobles to a great banquet, and thought he had secured peace among them by marching the greatest foes in pairs from the palace to the cross. In 1589, his bride, Anne, second daughter of the king of Denmark, having, on her way to Scotland, been driven to Norway and detained there by contrary winds, James went to fetch her home. He met her at Upsala, in Sweden, where (November 23, 1589) the marriage was solemnised. Not to encounter the voyage back in winter, James staid nearly six months in Denmark; and arrived (May 1, 1589) in Leith with his queen, accompanied by a splendid retinue of Danish lords and ladies.

194. **POWER OF THE CHURCH.**—The Estates in 1592 passed an act to abolish bishoprics, giving the government of the church to kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods, with appeals through these to the General

Assembly, which was the supreme church court. It was presided over by the king or his commissioner, who, before dissolving the one Assembly, fixed the time and place of the next. In 1593 an act was passed for 'the punishment of the contemnners of the decreets and judicatories of the kirk.' It warranted these judicatories, when they found that they were defied by 'obstinate and stubborn people,' to apply to the Lords of Session or the Secret Council for a writ of horning (or outlawry). The consequences of the issue of this writ were very severe in those days, when the protection of person and property afforded by the law was at best but feeble. A suspected man leaving by the west coast, was seized by the minister of Paisley, and eight papers were found on him, blank except the subscriptions of Huntly, Errol, and a few others. It seems they were to be filled with a request to the king of Spain for assistance with troops. Argyle was sent against Huntly, but was defeated at Glenlivet. Huntly and Errol, three years after, submitted to the church, and a permanent committee appointed ministers to superintend the households of the submitted lords. Others were commissioned to 'speak and deal' with the queen, 'for her want of godly and virtuous exercise among her maids.' James was told by Andrew Melville, 'there is Christ Jesus the king, and his kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James VI. is,' and of whose kingdom he was not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. When another minister, Black, was cited before the council, on the complaint of the English ambassador, for applying the word *atheist* to Elizabeth, the clergy forbade him to appear, and asked the presbyteries to sign 'the declinature of the king and council's judicature in matters spiritual.'

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195. **CHANGE OF STYLE.**—The 1st of January 1600 was made the first day of the year, which formerly had begun on 25th March, an alteration which was not effected in England till 1752.

196. **GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.**—On the 5th of August 1600, while the king was hunting at Falkland, the Master of Ruthven, brother to the Earl of Gowrie, wished James to go and see a man who had been seized while he had a pot of gold under his cloak. The king at first declined, as he could not take the gold from the owner; but his love of money and of mystery allured him, and he rode off after the hunt—not alone, as Ruthven desired, but with twenty horsemen—to Gowrie House, a turreted building, where the court-house of Perth now stands. After dinner, Ruthven led the king to



GOWRIE HOUSE.

a corner turret near the gate, where they found Gowrie's own chamberlain in armour. Ruthven put on his hat, took the man's dagger, and said to James: 'Sir, you must be my prisoner; remember on my father's death.' The king remonstrated with Ruthven, who said he wanted 'neither his life nor his blood,' but a pledge which would be told by his brother, whom he

went to bring, exacting a promise that the king would raise no alarm. Ruthven, hearing them try to open the window, returned, and attempted to bind James, but was prevented by the man. A scuffle followed; the window was opened, and James called for help to his attendants, who were waiting irresolute at the gate, since Gowrie told them that the king had left the castle, which the porter denied. Some of them rushed through the gallery, but could not get in; others found their way up by a turret-stair and were admitted by the man, who slipped off. Sir John Ramsay stabbed Ruthven, who was thrown down the stair, and Gowrie was slain soon after. There was an uproar in Perth, where the earl was provost, and popular; but James dropped down the river in a boat. The Estates decreed the name and dignity of the Gowries to be extinguished. The plot seemed so aimless, that many disbelieved the story; but several years after, letters of Logan of Restalrig were discovered, from which it appeared that the intention was to seize James, convey him by boat to Logan's fortress of Fast Castle, in a wild district near St Abb's Head, and compel him to yield whatever it might be that they wanted. That has never been discovered.

197. JAMES KING OF ENGLAND.—Late on the night of Saturday, March 26, 1603, Sir Robert Carey galloped into the court-yard of Holyrood, and awoke James to tell him he was king of England. Carey had been waiting outside Richmond Palace, till his sister, one of the ladies-in-waiting, dropped him a ring, taken from the finger of Elizabeth just as she died. This event happened at three in the morning of Thursday, and the official tidings of it came to Edinburgh two days later. James, leaving his northern capital with a large train, was received at Berwick with great honours. He was sumptuously entertained on his southward journey of a month, and made about 150 knights before he reached London. The people had borne with the high notions of Elizabeth, out of deference to the woman, and to the zeal and ability of the ruler. James, with fewer claims,

made greater demands on them. It is to be remarked that though many of the northern subjects of James came to London after his accession to the English throne, few of them received any great office. From the date of his ascent to the crown of England (1603), James became best known under the title of James I.

1581-1603. JAMES VI.—*continued.*

1581. Raid of Ruthven.

1585. The banished lords return ; league with England.

1587. Queen Mary beheaded at Fotheringay.

1589. James married Anne of Denmark.

1592. Presbyterian Church at its height of power.

1600. Gowrie Conspiracy.

1603. James VI. became James I. of England.

Contests of the nobles for possession of the king ; character of James ; imprisonment, trial, and execution of Mary ; great power of the church ; Gowrie Plot ; James in England.

XXVI. THE SCOTTISH NATION : 1286-1603.

Parliament ; People ; Education ; Authors ; Architecture ; Society ; The Reformation church.

198. The long struggle between the two nations was ended. The English, who had sought superiority, now gave their throne to the royal family of Scotland. The Scots, who had fought for independence, were now to be ruled from a court in England. At this point we shall

interrupt the narrative, and consider briefly the constitution, people, education, and reformed church of Scotland.

199. CONSTITUTION.—The Estates of the realm corresponded to the parliament of England, but with important differences. They held that the king himself, and not merely his officers, were responsible to them; they kept in their own hands the power of war, peace, and treaty; and it was a question, disputed but never settled, whether the king's consent was necessary to give their resolutions the force of law. The great power of the Estates may be explained by the fact that the sovereigns were under age during nearly half of the three centuries between the death of Alexander III. and the union with England (1286-1603). The king had no army or even body-guard, save what was supplied by the feudal land-holders. If those about him were surprised by a larger force, they had frequently to retire, and give place to the others, with or without contest. The Estates sat not in two houses, but in one. Two houses prevent hasty legislation; but this was avoided, as it is still in some parts of the continent, by the appointment of a permanent committee, who discussed and matured measures, which were then voted by the whole body. This committee was called the 'Lords of the Articles.' The Estates claimed to revise the decisions of the king's judges; and appointed for this purpose a committee called the 'auditors of complaints.' In 1503, this committee was empowered to act even when the Estates were not sitting, under the name of the 'Lords of Council,' and to sit wherever the king was residing. The Court of Session, constituted in 1532, was at first merely the Lords of Council with a new name. As representing a parliamentary committee, appeals were not carried from it; and it exercised a sort of legislative power to deal as seemed right to it, even with matters where there was no clear law or statute to guide it. In this it differed from the English courts.

200. THE PEOPLE.—The nobles had no class rights. The Douglas had great power, and it was little he would not venture to do if he wished; but, apart from his office, he was, in the eye of the law, no more than any Turnbull or Laidlaw on his own lands. There

were no rights of forestry or hunting, though there were close seasons, when certain animals might not be killed. All men might chase hares and other wild animals, if outside of forests, warrens, parks, or wards. No one had the sole right of hunting over another man's grounds. Nor was there a law of trespass, making it an offence to be found in any particular place. If harm was done, damage could be sued for; but if there was no damage, there was no offence. It was not allowed to ride over another man's grounds so as to damage them: 'No man ride or gang upon wheat no time of the year,' or in their neighbour's corn 'from the first of Pasch [Easter] till the same be shorn.' A noble might be sued for debt or damage, or 'thole an assize' like any other subject. Hence there were no class-risings like those of Wat Tyler or Jack Straw in England, or of the Jacquerie in France.

201. EDUCATION.—Even before the time of the Bruce, there are familiar notices of the school and the schoolmaster. Many schools were supported by the religious houses, first Culdee and then Roman Catholic; and grammar-schools existed in most burghs. In 1496, all barons and freeholders of substance were required to send their eldest sons or heirs to school, 'frae they be aught (eight) or nine years of age; to remain at the grammar-school till they be competently founded and have perfect knowledge of Latin;' and thereafter 'to remain three years at the schools of art and jure, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws.' There were no wealthy foundations, as in England, where the sons of the chief families of a district, with or without certain poor scholars, were trained by themselves. But there was a wider distribution of good schools for all the youth of the locality, whether sons of barons, burghers, or cottars. The universities were founded by churchmen, on the system of those on the continent; St Andrews in 1411; Glasgow in 1450; Aberdeen in 1494. That of Edinburgh was not chartered till 1582. They made provision for the mind of the student, not for his body. He might live where he pleased, and fare as he might, yet he ceased to be a mere citizen, and came under the rule of the university. The Scots universities were parts of a European system, and he who attained rank or honour in St Andrews, held the same if he went to Bologna, Paris, or Prague.

They were open to whoever came; and rich or poor, native or alien, might be one of the brotherhood, to learn what he sought, or to teach what he knew.

202. SCOTS AUTHORS.—When Bruce was fighting at home, JOHN DUNS or SCOTUS, the most eminent of all the schoolmen, was disputing divinity and metaphysics at Paris and Cologne. The metrical tale of *Sir Tristrem* is by many attributed to Learmonth, or THOMAS THE RHYMER, of Ercildoun, who lived about the time of Alexander III. Round his name clusters most of the fairy lore of Scotland, though *Sir Tristrem* has nothing peculiarly Scottish in it, and the story and sentiment were common to all the romance literature of Western Europe. BARBOUR (1320-95) wrote his poem, *The Bruce*, about 1375. His style is clear and pure, and his language and versification fully equal to those of Chaucer, to whom, however, he was inferior in poetic feeling and imagery. BLIND HARRY's *Wallace*, nearly a century later, though written with considerable fire, is a much inferior production. JOHN of FORDUN, who flourished about 1380, wrote five books of the *Scots Chronicle*, bringing it down to 1153. It was continued by WALTER BOWER, abbot at Inchcolm, to 1437. ANDREW WYNTOUN, prior of St Serf, on Lochleven, wrote *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, in nine books, but only the last four bear on Scots history. It comes down to 1408, with fair metre but poor poetry; and the language differs little from the English of the period. HECTOR BOECE (1465-1536), professor first at Paris and afterwards at Aberdeen, published his *History of Scotland* in excellent Latin at Paris in 1526. About the same time, JOHN MAJOR published at Rome a history of Scotland, also in Latin. Far more celebrated was the history by GEORGE BUCHANAN, in Latin, read by the learned all over the world. JOHN KNOX had more influence on the language than any single writer, for he was eager to carry the people with him, and appealed to them with genuine earnestness on matters in which they had the greatest interest. Buchanan's Scottish writings are terse and pithy, and have an easy flow.

James I. of Scotland, though an imitator of Chaucer, was a true poet, both in feeling and in style. The *King's Quhair* was written in England, but at a time when the language of the two countries differed but little. Sometime after James I.,

ROBERT HENRISON, schoolmaster of Dunfermline, wrote some pastoral pieces, and a translation of *Æsop's Fables*. *Peebles to the Play*, and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, generally assigned to James V., are humorous poems, more Scottish in dialect and colouring than those of his ancestor. The *Complaint of Scotland*, of uncertain authorship, but probably of the time of James V., has a wonderful richness of language. GAWIN DOUGLAS (1471-1521), bishop of Dunkeld, and third son of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, wrote the *King's Hart* and *Palace of Honour*, and made the first translation in Scotch or English of Virgil's *Æneid*. His allegories are happy, and his descriptions beautiful; but he introduces a great number of words from the Latin and French. WILLIAM DUNBAR (1460-1520?), a poet of the highest order, and of a great variety of gifts, is sometimes as rich as Spenser and as humorous as Burns. He wrote the *Thistle and the Rose* on the occasion of the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England. Sir DAVID LINDSAY (1490-1555) was for nearly two centuries the popular poet of Scotland. Keenly sarcastic, though witty, humorous, and genial, his writings are valuable in our day as pictures of the manners and morals of his time. He lashed the vices of the Roman Catholic clergy; excited a feeling of contempt for them; but took off the sharp edge of indignation by dashes of telling humour. Printing was introduced into Scotland in 1507 by WALTER CHAPMAN, under the favour of James IV.

203. ARCHITECTURE.—Up to the time of the war of independence, the buildings of Scotland were like those of England, of the *Early English* or *Pointed Gothic*, as shewn by the cathedrals of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Elgin. When Scotland secured peace and acquired means, it broke off from the influence of English art. Except in a few secondary buildings, and in the alterations made on great works, such as Melrose Abbey, we have few specimens of the *Second English Pointed* or *Decorated* style, with the capitals of the pillars wreathed in foliage, and mullioned windows having their upper parts filled with tracery. England had meanwhile passed into the style which is either called *Depressed*, from the flatness of its arches; or *Perpendicular*, from the fact of mullions, with horizontal bars, being carried straight up to the top, as in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster.

This style we find in Scotland only in recent erections or restorations. Instead of it, the Scots used the *French Flamboyant* style, so called from the tracery rising like flames from a point in the windows midway between the spring of the arches. So in baronial buildings, the Scots used not the *Tudor* style, but the *French* or *Renaissance*, shewing curious gables, turreted roofs, and ornamental clusters of chimneys; or with rich decorations, as in the palaces of Falkland, Stirling, and Linkithgow.

204. SOCIETY.—The Spanish ambassador from whom we took the portrait of James IV. gives us also some pictures of the country. 'They have,' he says, 'more meat, in great and small animals, than they want, and plenty of hides and wool. Their quantity of fish is so great, that it suffices for Italy, France, Flanders, and England. There are all kinds of garden fruits to be found which a cold country can produce, and they are very good. The people are handsome, and spend all they have to keep up appearances. The women are courteous in the extreme. They are absolute mistresses of their houses and even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property. They are very graceful and handsome, and dress much better than in England, especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world. The houses are good, are built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France is to be found in their dwellings.' The exports were almost all raw produce—salmon, herrings, dried cod, hides, and wool. Lead-mines were wrought at Wanlockhead, but there are only faint traces of iron-working. Coal was used, as Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., tells us in his account of his visit in 1435.

205. WORSHIP AND CHURCHES.—The acts of the Assembly of 1560, ratified by the Estates in 1567, made several changes in ritual. Besides those already mentioned, the burial service was abolished; though, if the church was near, and the minister present he might give an exhortation on death and the resurrection. A sermon was rather to be avoided, lest the minister should 'preach at the burial of the rich and honourable, and keep silence when the poor and despised departeth.' The Book of

Common Order was translated into Gaelic, but 'adapted in some cases to the peculiar manners of the Highlanders.' As there were no responses, the people did not take any part in public worship, except in the music, which was abundant and in parts. In 1582, on the return of John Durie, one of the ministers, 'he was met by the hail toun, who accompanied him with bare heads and loud voices, singing the 124th Psalm till heaven and earth resounded.' The *Godly Psalms and Spiritual Songs, or the Good and Godly Ballads*, supplied a wide variety of sentiment and melody, some of which would scarcely be now regarded as sacred or solemn. The churches lost their decorations, and fell into disrepair. The lay lords had seized the revenues, and there were no funds for repairs; while in the frequent troubles of the land the lead was often stripped off the roofs, and the rain soon made havoc of the rafters and walls. In 1572, a minister of note, Ferguson of Dunfermline, in a sermon said: 'If I had been brought up in Germany,' 'and had taken travail to visit this land, and there should have seen the foul deformity and desolation of your kirks and temples, which are mair like sheep-cots than the houses of God, I could not have judged that there had been any fear of God or right religion in the maist part of this realm.'

206. BISHOPS.—In 1572, when John Douglas was made archbishop of St Andrews after the death of Hamilton, Knox offered no objection to the office, and refused to assist at the installation only because he did not approve of the parties to the transaction. In the same year, the Assembly at Perth made rules for the duties of bishops; and Knox wrote a letter suggesting regulations, not opposing the order. But the conviction that Presbyterianism represented the most scriptural form of church government was spreading. The same Assembly did not regard the bishops as prelates, made them subject to the Assembly, and suggested that the very name should be changed. Many bishops were known to be appointed, not to discharge the duties of the office, but to make the revenues of the see flow to some proprietors' pockets, just as a 'tulchan,' or stuffed calf-skin, was placed beside a cow, which had been deprived of her calf, when she was being milked. It was said there were three kinds of bishops—'my lord bishop,' or prelate with full powers; 'my lord's bishop,' or the tulchan; and

the 'Lord's bishop,' or true minister. In 1574, questions were raised as to whether bishops, as they existed in Scotland, had any warrant in the Word of God; and in 1580, the General Assembly found that they had none, and required them to resign that office or be excommunicated.

207. PRESBYTERIANISM.—In 1580, the First Covenant, or Second Confession, was subscribed by the king and the court, and next year by all ranks at the order of the council. After striking with great precision at the special doctrines and claims of Popery, 'as confuted by the Word of God, and the kirk of Scotland,' the subscribers swear 'that we shall continue in the obedience, and doctrine, and discipline of this kirk,' and 'shall defend the king's person and authority with their goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ, his evangel, liberties of their country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity.' The church next claimed that 'the civil power shall command the spiritual to exercise and do their duty according to the Word of God;' that 'the magistrate's duty is to assist and maintain the discipline of the Kirk, and to punish those who disobey;' 'that the clergy have power to abolish all statutes and ordinances concerning ecclesiastical matters that are found noisome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time or are abused by the people;' that 'no person shall be intruded to any of the offices of kirk contrary to the will of the congregation.' These measures were chiefly promoted by Andrew Melville. It may be said that Knox was the founder of Scots Protestantism, and Melville of Scots Presbyterianism. He was called before the council to answer for a sermon he had preached, but declined their authority, as he was charged with no civil crime, and said they presumed over boldly to judge the doctrine and control the ambassadors of a King and council greater than they. In history, Knox stands strongly out for his vindication of civil and religious liberty. To him Scotland is indebted for many of its educational advantages.

XXVII. JAMES I. : 1603-25.—CHARLES I. :
1625-1639.

*Episcopacy restored; Laud's service-book; The Covenant;
Assembly at Glasgow.*

208. GUNPOWDER PLOT.—Many in England did not think that James had a right to succeed to the throne. As an alien, he had not inherited the English estates of his grandfather, Lennox; and it was said that he could not inherit the whole, if he might not secure a part, and that his cousin Arabella Stewart was the rightful heir. While his succession was doubtful, he carried on correspondence with different parties in England; with the Puritans who thought the Reformation incomplete, and with the Catholics who wanted it undone. Some of the latter, believing that more had been promised them than they got, planned the Gunpowder Plot, the object of which was to destroy (November 5, 1605) the house in which parliament met while the king was present. Happily this plot was discovered, and its originators punished. As a result of the union of the crowns, the Border laws were abolished in 1607, and all born after the accession of James to the English throne might be citizens of either country. John Welsh and eighteen others held an assembly at Aberdeen without the king's consent; for this conduct a charge of treason was brought against them, which in Scotland simply meant disobedience to an order of court to appear or to pay a fine or a debt. They were ordered to remove from Scotland. In 1606, the Estates sanctioned plans for the reconstruction of Episcopacy, and the bishops were restored to

their dignities and livings. By an act of Assembly in 1610, and of the Estates in 1612, they were made moderators of the synods. But their livings had mostly got into the hands of laymen, who would not surrender them. In 1616, the Assembly ordered a liturgy and form of service to be prepared.

209. VISIT OF JAMES.—James came back to Scotland in May 1616, and spent fifteen months in royal pageants and receptions. He attended a meeting of the Estates in 1617, at which deans and chapters were restored to each see, and it was decreed that every minister should have a stipend of from 500 to 800 merks—that is, from £27, 15s. 6d. to £44, 9s. a year. The Assembly at Perth, in 1618, passed ‘five articles’ expressing the views of James, which required kneeling at communion in public, permitting private communion to the sick, and private baptism where necessary, enjoining confirmation by the bishop of children eight years old, and the observance as holidays of Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday. No penalties were attached to disobedience. These decrees gave great dissatisfaction to many; some, because of the things themselves, and more, because they were pressed by the court.

210. THE HIGHLANDS.—The clans were again fighting among themselves, and reiving in the Lowlands. The Macgregors, from their hold in Varnach, now Ellen’s Isle, in Loch Katrine, were especially troublesome, and were treated as wild animals. The Macdonalds of Islay had taken from the bishop of the Isles the king’s castle, which was recovered with difficulty. The old plan of control through feudal houses was maintained: Huntly, in the north; Mackenzie—now Seaforth—in the middle; and in the south, the Campbells, who are now divided into three houses, Argyle round Lochfyne; Breadalbane on Lochawe; and the

Caldar Campbells in Islay, Jura, and Cantire. In 1616, several clans were made surety for one another. Their chiefs were to appear annually before the council, and give hostages for the year; to free their lands of sorners and idle men; to make policies and planting about their houses, and home-farms near them; to send their sons to Lowland schools; and not to use in their households more than a fixed quantity of wine, varying according to their rank, from four to sixteen hogsheads a year.

211. NEW SCOTLAND AND ULSTER.—In 1621, Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, a traveller, poet, and statesman of wide views, got a grant of the land between New England and the St Lawrence, to be called New Scotland, now Nova Scotia. It was to be settled by Scots, and whoever took charge of one of its thousand allotments, was to be made a baronet. The colony seems to have lost its separate existence about 1628, in the troubles between the English and French. Many Scots at this time had become traders and settlers in foreign parts. A number of them found a nearer field in Ulster, to which 2000 are said to have gone from Carrick and Galloway, and 10,000 from between Aberdeen and Inverness.

In 1624, GEORGE HERIOT, who had followed James to London as court jeweller and banker, died, and left his wealth to found and endow an hospital in Edinburgh, for the maintenance and education of sons of poor deceased or decayed burghesses. The building of the hospital was finished in 1642.

212. CHARLES I.—James died March 27, 1625. His eldest son, Henry, predeceased him in 1612. Opposed to popery, and giving promise of true manliness, Henry was mourned by both nations, and the first poem published by Drummond of Hawthornden was on his death. James's second son, born at Dunfermline in 1600, succeeded his father as Charles I. One of his first acts in Scotland, a proclamation revoking all grants of church lands, alarmed the land-owners. When the Estates met, disturbance was apprehended. The church estates were called temporalities; but the church had

also tithes or tiends over other lands, and the holders of these were called titulars. A settlement of the dispute raised by the proclamation of Charles was not affected till 1633, when most of the holders of church property resigned a portion of it to receive a clear title to the remainder. The tithes were commuted for a fixed rent equal to about one-fifth of what was then the yearly rent. This disposed of a question in Scotland which, in England and Ireland, remained a source of trouble down to the present reign.

213. THE NEW COUNCIL.—Hitherto each Estate had chosen certain persons to represent it on the committee of the Lords of the Articles ; and the members of that board had kept up communication with their respective Estates. In 1633 it was arranged that there should be thirty-two members, eight from each estate. The nobles chose eight prelates out of the twelve ; these chose eight nobles out of about sixty ; and these sixteen chose eight from the lesser barons or gentry, and eight from the burgesses. This was much less fair than it seemed ; for the twelve prelates and sixty nobles not only were as numerous represented in the Council as all the gentry and the burgesses together, but they had also the power of selecting representatives from these ; and as the prelates generally voted all on the same side, they could almost always secure a majority. Having no hold on the country, the prelates naturally leaned upon the crown, which they supported even when doubtful of its being in the right ; so that the Estates lost the control they had hitherto exercised.

214. VISIT OF CHARLES AND LAUD.—In June 1633,

Charles was crowned with great state in the abbey of Holyrood. He was accompanied by Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who pushed matters farther than the bishops themselves wished. He had always been marked by hatred of puritanism and love of ritualism. Even James thought he ought to be kept in check, and for a time refused to make him bishop of St David's, saying: 'I keep Laud back from all places of rule and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well.' When James consented to the appointment, he remarked: 'Then take him to you; but you will repent it.' In Scotland, the bishops were required to wear their white sleeves, and the ministers their surplices, when they read divine service. The smaller these matters were, the more objectionable it was to force them against the rights and feelings of the people. In 1636, Laud prepared canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, which Charles issued on his own authority, without consulting the council, Estates, or even the bishops, who had been preparing a different set. The aristocracy resented the interference with their lands, and the encroachments on the power and rights of the Estates; the Presbyterians resisted episcopal rule and ceremonies; and the nation generally opposed an attempt to force English ways upon them.

215. THE SERVICE-BOOK.—The spark that aroused the temper of the nation was a service-book, prepared by Laud and imposed by the king. So far as it differed from the English liturgy it was more Romish, both in its additions and its omissions. The Book of Common Order, though never enjoined by the Estates, was in general use up to

and after this time, though it was not used by every congregation, or by all in the same way. In terms of the act of Assembly, 1616, a new book had been prepared (1625-30) but it did not differ greatly from the old one. The people were exasperated at a prayer-book being wrongfully imposed on them, less in agreement with the reformed doctrines than the English one. It commenced with a proclamation enforcing it under pain of outlawry, and its appearance was like an illustrated Roman Catholic breviary or missal. It was intended to be used at Easter, 1637, but the council



JENNY GEDDES'S STOOL.

advised delay. On the 16th of July, the clergy who meant to comply with the order gave notice that the service-book would be used the next Sunday. In the church of St Giles, the better part of the people seem to

have intended to come only to sermon, after the service was over; but their servants had been sent with their folding-stools, and it is said there were present several apprentices in disguise. After the Book of Common Order had been used as formerly, the new book was introduced with all ceremony. The archbishop of St Andrews was present, the bishop of Edinburgh was to preach, and the dean, in his surplice, was to read the service. When the dean opened the book, a confused murmur soon drew to noise and violence; books and stools were thrown; and the bishop, who stood up to rebuke the people, narrowly missed a blow. Jenny Geddes, who kept a green-grocer's stand at the Tron, gets the credit of having thrown the first stool. The rioters were expelled from the church, but they kept roaring and battering the doors till the service was ended. Similar disturbances were general, and the bishops instructed the clergy to use neither the old nor the new service, but only prayers before and after sermon.

216. THE OPPOSITION GROWS.—The law process of *horning* was tried; but three ministers, one of them, Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, raised an action of suspension, and the court decided that the penalties applied only to not buying the book, thus virtually suspending it as a service-book. The king and Laud blamed the council and bishops for hesitating, and called for prompt punishment. But petitions poured in upon the council, requiring the withdrawal of the book, because, introduced without the authority of the Estates or General Assembly, it invaded the constitution and liberties of the nation, and represented English interference, as well as popish

tendencies. They prayed, also, that the bishops might be removed from the council, as interested parties in the dispute. Numbers thronged from all parts to Edinburgh, and Lennox took with him to London sixty-eight petitions to the king. After long waiting, a proclamation, which came from Charles, was (October 17, 1637) issued, commanding all to depart from Edinburgh in twenty-four hours who had not business there, ordering the council and courts to be removed to Linlithgow first, then to be established permanently at Dundee; and denouncing a popular book, written by George Gillespie, and entitled: *Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland*. A conjoined petition, respectful but firm, from 'noblemen, barons, ministers, burgesses and commons,' was next presented. This document became famous as 'The Supplication,' and its supporters were called 'Supplicants.' Each class of the petitioners elected four men, to form a committee, attend to the interests involved in the petition, and summon the rest as occasion required. These formed the celebrated Four Tables, and each Table advised with a larger committee, who corresponded with the various districts.

217. THE COVENANT.—Early in December, the council met at Linlithgow, and issued a proclamation from the king, sternly rebuking the supplicants, while it contained a profession of his abhorrence of popery. The supplicants were neither appalled nor appeased. The council adjourned to Dalkeith, and here, in reply to the proclamation, the supplicants read for the first time their famous 'protestation.' Wherever the king's message was read, this protest was read in reply at the same time; and only in Aberdeen did it not receive the full sympathy of

the people. It led to a great and momentous result. Amid the excitement aroused all over the country by this reading and counter-reading, Johnston of Warriston suggested that it would be seasonable to renew the National Covenant of 1557, with some additions, by which they bound themselves to defend their religious liberties. This was done with the greatest fervour; and the Supplicants were now, and ever after, called Covenanters. Multitudes of all classes signed (March 1, 1638) the Covenant in the Greyfriars' churchyard, and individuals and committees procured signatures to it over all the land. At last the Marquis of Hamilton, the nearest to the Scots throne out of Charles's own family, was sent to settle all disputes. It is said that 500 ministers and 20,000 people met him between Leith and Musselburgh. Their demands were that the king should abolish the council, withdraw and disavow the canons and service-book, and call a free parliament and Assembly. In the proclamation brought by Hamilton, the king neither frankly yielded nor firmly refused the people's claims. It rated the Scots for their disobedience, but promised that the canons and service-book would be pressed only in a fair way, and that a parliament and an Assembly would be called at the king's convenience. In his private instructions Charles wrote to Hamilton: 'Flatter the people with what hopes you please,' but 'I will rather die than yield to those impertinent demands;' yet 'I do not expect that you should declare the adherents to the Covenant traitors, until you have heard from me that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland.' There were rumours that the king was insincere, though Hamilton, who knew that it was quite true, in strong language called the report 'a false surmise.'

218. **ASSEMBLY AT GLASGOW.**—The next move of the king was to profess a complete surrender. Even if the Estates should repeal the Five Articles of Perth, he would give his assent. The Assembly met (September 21, 1638) in the cathedral of Glasgow. The Tables had secured the return to it of 140 ministers and 100 laymen, of whom 17 were peers. Each presbytery sent two ministers and one lay elder; Edinburgh, two laymen, and the other burghs one. The commissioner, Hamilton, pronounced the Assembly dissolved, for excluding the bishops and admitting laymen. It, however, proceeded with business, abolished the articles of Perth, the canons, and the service-book; excommunicated eight of the prelates, and deposed the other six. The Covenanters holding that the king had broken faith, prepared to stand on their defence. The Tables appealed to the country for contributions, and soon procured a revenue. The Thirty Years' War in Germany was ending; many thousand Scots had engaged in it, several had risen to high command, and numbers of trained officers and men were returning home, among whom were Alexander Leslie and his nephew, David. The Covenant was not popular in the north, where Huntly acted for the king. Montrose was sent, first as the leader of a deputation to reason the people into signing it, and subsequently, in February 1639, as the commander of an army, to subdue them to the cause. To this force Huntly submitted, and came to Edinburgh with Montrose, who made him prisoner in the castle. His son, Lord Aboyne, took his place, gained a victory at Turriff, but was defeated near Dunnottar. The king's men were distinguished by a red ribbon, and their opponents adopted a blue one, which became the colour of the Covenanters.

1603-1625. JAMES I.

1605. Gunpowder Plot.

1606. Episcopacy restored.

1607. Citizenship common to both English and Scots.

1616. Visit of James; Five Articles of Perth; Settlement of the Highlands.

1622. Colony of Nova Scotia founded.

1625-39. CHARLES I.

1628. Revocation of church lands.

1633. Commutation of tithes; visit of Charles.

1636. Laud's canons and constitutions.

1637. Opposition to Laud's service-book.

1638. The Covenant.

James promotes episcopal forms; great Highland families; Scottish emigration; tithes commuted; evil influence of Laud; resentment of the Scots; outbreak at St Giles; the Four Fables; the covenant; insincerity of Charles; Assembly of Glasgow overturns Episcopacy.

XXVIII. CHARLES I.—*continued*: 1639-1649.—

CHARLES II.: 1649-60.

Civil war; The Scots army in England; Charles I. beheaded; Cromwell and the Commonwealth.

219. WAR WITH THE KING.—The Covenanters had now (1639) command of the country. Edinburgh Castle and the other fortresses fell into their hands; and the Estates declined to issue the king's proclamation of war. Hamilton, with a fleet of nineteen vessels and five raw regiments,

appeared in the Forth, but could not effect a landing. The king came to Berwick, with his army, and Leslie in command of 22,000 foot and 500 horse occupied Dunse Law, to bar his entrance into Scotland. Charles had to treat, since he could not fight. Commissioners, with a safe conduct, met him at Berwick, and again a free parliament and Assembly were promised. But he soon after gained over Montrose, and the Scots account of the pacification was burned by the hangman in England. The Estates met in May, but were adjourned by the crown to August, when they met for the first time in the new parliament-house, disputed the mode of appointing the Lords of the Articles, and demanded an act of indemnity for those who had risen in arms. Under protest, they were adjourned again to June (1640), when they met as appointed; a third order for adjourning not being certified by the king's officers. No prelates being admitted, the three estates of nobility, barons, and burgesses adopted the Covenant, required it to be signed by all citizens, and appointed a committee to act when they themselves were not sitting. The king disallowed the proceedings of the Estates, and confined in the Tower the commissioner they sent to him.

220. SCOTS IN ENGLAND.—Leslie mustering 22,000 men at Dunglass, crossed the Tweed at Coldstream (20th August 1640), and marched on Newcastle, which was fortified to the north, but open to the south. At Newburn, five miles above Newcastle, he cleared a passage to the latter by opening fire from an unlooked-for battery of six cannons. He then entered the town, paying for what he required, though only with money which he levied, giving bonds, as was not unusual in

those days, for some indefinite future payment. The people were astonished to find the Scots so different from the raiders whom their fathers had known. The king, at York, had no force with which to oppose them; accordingly, a treaty was begun at Ripon, and concluded at London (August 1641). The Scots troops were to be paid £850 a day, and affairs were to be settled by the parliaments of both countries. The English Long Parliament met, and took part with the Scots. They sent to the block the king's great adviser, Strafford, in 1641—a fate which overtook Laud four years later—and drifted into war with Charles. Meanwhile Argyle was sent with 'a commission of fire and sword' to the lands of Athole, Rannoch, Badenoch, and Lochaber. Conscious that his order for bloodshed and plunder would not cover all his doings, he asked and obtained an indemnity from the Estates. The king visiting Scotland in 1641, made Leslie Earl of Leven, raised Argyle to the rank of marquis, and sanctioned all that the Estates asked. At the same time he was deep in a plot with Montrose, had a plan for the seizure of Argyle and several others, and was stirring the native Irish to that rising which, going farther than he wished, ended in a massacre of almost all the English out of Dublin.

221. MARSTON MOOR.—Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, in 1642. His forces held Newcastle and stopped the supply of coals to London, the great centre of opposition. The English parliament made an alliance with the Scots, and took their army into pay. Leslie crossed the Tweed on the 19th January 1644, crossed the Tyne above Newcastle, drove back the royalists to Durham, returned and invested Newcastle (which was

taken in October); left a sufficient force to carry on the siege, and with the main body of his army marched to Tadcaster, where they joined the parliamentary forces. A royalist army held York, and the united forces determined to attack that city, but Prince Rupert gave them battle at Long Marston Moor, five miles west of it (July 26, 1644). Each side had about 23,000 men, one-third being cavalry. The right of the allied army, under Fairfax and Leven, was scattered by an impetuous attack of Prince Rupert; while Cromwell and David Leslie, who commanded its left, drove back the royalists opposed to them in a steady, hard fight. The battle was once more formed, only to end in a signal victory for the parliament, the merit of which was due to Leslie and Cromwell.

222. MONTROSE.—The king's cause seemed lost, when Montrose revived its hopes. If he could not recover Scotland, he might at least make a diversion by compelling Leven's army to come home for the defence of Scotland, and thus relieve the king of their dangerous presence in England. With 1200 Irish, he raised his standard in Athole, marched on Perth, without any loss routed Lord Elcho at Tibbermore (September 1, 1644), and held the town for three days. He next marched on Aberdeen, defeated the covenanting army (September 13), and pillaged the city. But many of his men went home with their spoil. Huntly would not join with the man who once betrayed him, and Montrose withdrew to the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, who had been following him, retired for the winter to Inveraray, leaving the passes of his country unguarded. Montrose ravaged his lands for two months, and retired. The Estates arranged that

Argyle should assail him from the west, while General Baillie, with some levies and a few trained soldiers, marched against him from the east. Montrose surprised Argyle at Inverlochy (February 2, 1645), lost only four men, slew 1500 Campbells, scattered the rest, and marched north. For a while he was lost sight of, till he pounced on Dundee. General Urry, an experienced soldier, attacked him at Auldearn, near Nairn, and was beaten, as was Baillie also at Alford. Reinforced from Ross and Inverness, Montrose next held the range of the Campsie Fells, waited his opportunity, and so completely routed Baillie at Kilsyth, that scarcely an unmounted Covenanter escaped (August 15). He next moved south-east, where he hoped to be joined by some of the Borderers. He had swept all before him; but his victories were gained over small bodies of untrained levies, who broke when the Highlanders rushed on them with their claymores. The country would not join him; and there were no means of keeping the same Highland army in the field. If beaten, they dispersed for safety; and if conquerors, with spoil. David Leslie was recalled with some of his best horse from Hereford, entered Scotland at Berwick, hastened through the Lothians, and turned to the south. Montrose made Selkirk his headquarters, and his men were lying in Philiphaugh, near the meeting of the Ettrick and the Yarrow. Leslie knew their position, but they knew nothing of him. Dividing his forces, he attacked, in the mist of the morning (September 13), from the south and the west. Montrose hastened from Selkirk at the first sound of firing, but his army had perished without a battle; his brilliant career of a year and a few days was over, and he took refuge in the Highlands.

223. WESTMINSTER DIVINES.—In 1643, the English parliament appointed an Assembly of Divines at Westminster to make 'nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and with other reformed churches abroad.' The Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, drawn up by the Assembly, were ratified by the Long Parliament. There were commissioners from Scotland, who advised but did not vote. When the Assembly ended, its work in England seemed to end with it. In 1647, the Scots Assembly adopted the Confession of Faith, and the Estates ratified it in 1649. The metrical version of the Psalms by Francis Rous was adopted in 1650.

224. DEATH OF CHARLES.—After a defeat at Naseby (June 14, 1645), the king shut himself up in Oxford. When that city fell, and a safe-conduct was denied him, he seems to have wandered in uncertainty, and in eight days entered the Scots lines at Newark (May 5, 1646). When asked to surrender him, the Scots retired to Newcastle, which they held till their affairs with the parliament were settled. They received £400,000, and agreed to deliver the king to the commissioners of parliament (January 8, 1647). They could scarcely retain an English king in England against the will of the parliament, which had invited them to the country. If Charles had complied with the demands of the Scots, they would certainly have fought for him against all odds. When too late, he made an 'Engagement' at Newport, and an army under the Duke of Hamilton was sent to his aid. Ill-handled, it committed excesses; and, wandering on, was defeated at Preston (August 17), and at Uttoxeter (August 20, 1648). Charles was tried for

high treason, and was beheaded January 30, 1649. His death was chiefly due to a feeling in the minds of those who had opposed him, that the sparing of his life would be the loss of their own. The English tried and executed Hamilton. Huntly and Montrose were executed in Scotland. The latter had, in March 1650, landed in the north, but failed to raise the Highlands. His few men were routed at Invercarron, on the northern border of Ross-shire, near Bonar Bridge; and he, wandering and nearly starved, was taken by Macleod of Assynt, who was out with a party in search of him. He was taken to Edinburgh, tried there, and was hanged (May 21, 1650).

225. INVASION BY CROMWELL.—It was in the year before the execution of Charles that the zeal of the Covenanters of the west of Scotland first became prominent. They were keenly opposed to the 'Engagement,' because they did not think the recognition of the Covenant sincere. Hoping to prevent the king from returning unconditionally to the throne, Lord Eglinton marched a force from Mauchline towards Edinburgh, called the Whigamores' Raid. Argyle promised to join him, but came to terms with Cromwell, and the scheme fell through. When news arrived of the execution of Charles I., the Scots immediately proclaimed Charles II. Commissioners were sent to the Hague, with offers of 'readiness to espouse the king's cause if he would espouse God's.' He accepted the conditions at the very time he was urging Montrose to resume the war. Charles landed at the mouth of the Spey (July 3, 1650), but was held in honourable restraint in Dunfermline; for though he had signed the Covenant, the Scots thought

they would fight better for him if he were not in their midst. Cromwell came to Scotland with an army of 16,000 choice troops, well officered, and strong in artillery and cavalry. He was not opposed even at the passes of Cockburnspath, where, he said, 'ten men to hinder is better than forty to make.' In Leslie's army were many untrained men and inexperienced officers, also numbers of ministers and politicians, who interfered with his discipline.

226. BATTLE OF DUNBAR.—Leslie covered Edinburgh with such skill that Cromwell saw an attack on it was hopeless. Cromwell's army, in a starving condition, withdrew to Dunbar. Leslie moved along the heights, seized the passes near the coast, and occupied Doon Hill, an offset of the Lammermoors overlooking the plain. Cromwell wrote, the night before the battle: 'The enemy hath blocked up our way at the pass of Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills, that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.' That night, to his joy and surprise, he saw the Scots moving down to the plain on the east. Cromwell charged early in the morning, before they had well formed. The first charge was repulsed, but the Scots behind broke and fled, for the officers did not stand to their regiments. Cromwell says: 'In less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, became a total rout, our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles.' The Scots lost 3000 slain and 10,000 prisoners (September 3, 1650).

227. BATTLE OF WORCESTER.—Cromwell was now master of all Scotland south of the Forth ; but the Scots did not yield, and Charles was crowned at Scone, Argyle putting the crown on his head (January 1, 1651). Leslie recruited his forces, and held the Torwood heights between Stirling and Falkirk. Cromwell tried in vain to induce him to fight, and withdrew to Perth. The Scots immediately marched into England, and passed through York and Stafford ; but few royalists joined them, and Cromwell came up and defeated them at Worcester. Before the battle was over, Charles fled with a few followers ; Leslie was captured ; and Cromwell said it was as stiff a contest for four or five hours as he had ever seen. Monk, who had been left in Scotland with 5000 men, stormed and sacked Dundee two days before the fight at Worcester. After that battle Cromwell set himself to pacify Scotland, and in doing so found that Argyle was so powerful in his own country that he had to enter into a separate treaty of peace with him. The Assembly having met was dissolved by the soldiers, and the affairs of the church were committed to ten ministers and ten laymen, four for each of five provinces ; but there was no interference with the forms of worship. The administration of justice was intrusted to four English and three Scots judges. There was free-trade between both countries, while Scots vessels might trade with the colonies, and bring any foreign cargo into English ports. Leith at that time had sixteen vessels ; and Glasgow, Kirkcaldy, and Montrose, twelve each. Feudal service was abolished. A general post-office for the three kingdoms was established, and the charge for conveying a letter from Edinburgh to London was fourpence. The Scots did not get their own way, but were treated, on the whole,

justly and kindly. They were divided among themselves, and Cromwell kept them quiet, with as little interference as possible, till he died 3d September 1658.

1639-49. CHARLES I.—*continued.*

1639. The Scots at Dunse oppose the king.

1640. The Estates ratify the Covenant.

1641. Treaty of Ripon.

1642. Civil war in England.

1644. Battle of Marston Moor.

1645. Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh.

1646. Charles surrenders to the Scots.

1649. Confession of Faith ratified; the Scots defeated at Preston; Charles beheaded.

1649-60. CHARLES II.

1650. Leslie defeated at Dunbar.

1651. Scots defeated at Worcester.

1658. Death of Cromwell.

Charles I. attempting coercion, is resisted by force; having again evaded his promise of a free parliament, the Scots enter England, and assist the Long Parliament in warring with Charles, who is defeated at Naseby; Montrose makes a brilliant but fruitless diversion in Scotland; and Charles, given up by the Scots, is imprisoned and executed.

Charles II. is supported by the Scots, who require him to sign the Covenant, but distrust his sincerity; the clergy and politicians interfere with the discipline of Leslie, and lead to defeat; Cromwell governs Scotland well, but with little regard to its national forms and customs.

XXIX. CHARLES II. : 1660-85.—JAMES VII. :
1685-88.

*Restoration of prelacy ; Encroachments on freedom ;
Persecutions.*

228. RESTORATION.—General Monk favoured the recall of Charles ; and to help forward this he led his army to London. Though his intentions were not declared, Monk could not have withdrawn his army from Scotland, if his purpose had not been approved of by those who could have taken advantage of its absence. The news of Charles's restoration (May 29, 1660) was received with great joy. The Scots were thoroughly loyal, and the king might have ruled them in quietness and honour. One of his first acts, however, affecting Scotland, though planned against Holland, prohibited any trade with England or the colonies, unless in English ships, or in those of the country from which the cargo came. The church sent commissioners to London, headed by James Sharp, to secure the settlement of Presbyterianism. Sharp pushed his colleagues aside, and wrote home many letters, expressing his confidence of success. All the while, he was working against the cause which he was supposed to represent, and came home archbishop of St Andrews. The government used all its means to secure members of parliament in their favour, and the Estates rescinded all acts passed since 1639, and re-established prelacy (1661). Argyle, having gone to London to pay his respects to the king, was apprehended, sent to Scotland, and beheaded as a traitor (May 27, 1661) for having taken part with Cromwell. He bore his fate with pious

fortitude. For a similar reason, James Guthrie, an eminent Presbyterian minister, suffered at the same time, and Johnston of Warriston, one of the ablest of the Covenanters, soon after.

229. PERSECUTION.—It was enacted in 1662 that whoever held a public office must abjure the Covenant, and that all the clergy were to be confirmed in their livings by the bishops. About 350 of them, who would not comply with this enactment, were expelled, and ordered to reside twenty miles from their old parishes, six miles from Edinburgh or any cathedral town, and three miles from a royal burgh. The High Commission was restored, with powers to do almost whatever it chose. Soldiers were sent to enforce the laws and exact penalties. The people, adhering to their own ministers, held conventicles among the hills. These meetings were declared illegal, and those who attended them were so harrassed and oppressed, that they were driven to insurrection. Four countrymen who had endured many hardships came to Dalry in Galloway, and saw some soldiers driving people to thrash out the corn of an old man, their neighbour. The old man had hid himself, and the corn was to pay the church fine. The men passed on, but some one told them that the soldiers had caught the old man, and were about to ill-use him. The men turned back, disarmed the soldiers, and released the intended victim. As their lives were thus doomed, they resolved to do more. Collecting some peasants, they disarmed twelve soldiers who were stationed near. Joined by others, they seized Sir James Turner, the captain, at Dumfries, and a considerable sum of money which he had collected as fines. The district was roused, and a small army under Colonel

Wallace marched over hills and moors towards Edinburgh. Few joined them, and General Dalziel defeated them at Rullion Green, on the southern side of the Pentlands (November 28, 1666).

230. LAUDERDALE.—The first lord high commissioner was Lord Middleton, and the Duke of Lauderdale succeeded him. Both had been Covenanters. Lauderdale was profane and profligate. Any person was liable to be summoned before the High Commission, and required to give bonds to keep the peace, and the bonds were made to include abjuring the Covenant. An 'indulgence' was passed in 1669, allowing 'outed ministers' who had lived peaceably to return to their parishes. Many of the ministers availed themselves of this permission; but a large following of the people still clung to those who did not; and a law was passed the following year decreeing death and the confiscation of their goods against all who preached without a license 'in the field, or in any house where there be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors, which is hereby declared to be a field conventicle.' In 1676, penalties were put on all who *intercommuned* with any attending conventicles, by giving them 'meat, drink, house, harbouring, or anything necessary or convenient.' To enforce these laws, about 6000 Highlanders were let loose on the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, to take free quarters, and kill, wound, or imprison any opposing the authorities (1678). As some of the offenders found refuge in the towns, the officers appointed by the citizens were removed by government, and others put in their place.

231. MURDER OF SHARP.—In pressing these measures,

no one was so zealous as Sharp, who was disliked even by the unscrupulous agents of the government. By the people he was hated as the Judas who had betrayed the church of his Lord, and feared for his cunning and cruelty. He was murdered (May 3, 1679) by men who were not seeking for him, but for Carmichael, a law officer in Fife, who had made himself infamous, not merely by enforcing, but by stretching, for purposes of extortion, the oppressive laws of the time. They waited for him on Magus Moor, to frighten, seize, or take security from him. The archbishop's coach came up. To inflict punishment on him was not the work they intended; but they seized the opportunity thus presented. Their leader, Hackston of Rathillet, said he might not act, for he had a quarrel with the archbishop, and the deed must be done without malice; and Burley, or Balfour of Kinloch, took his place. They stopped the horses, fired into the coach, and were leaving, when a remark of the archbishop's daughter shewed that the work was not done. Sharp pleaded for mercy, but they dragged him from the coach. Burley told him that having shed the blood of Christ's members like water on the ground, he must therefore die. It was a cruel deed, and whatever may have been the provocation, it cannot be vindicated.

232. DRUMCLOG.—The conventicles were most numerous from the south of Lanark to Galloway. They met generally in the hollow of some glen, with watchers posted on the heights around. If disturbed, the men saw to the safety of the women and the minister, and then dispersed by paths known to few but themselves. On the nineteenth anniversary of the Restoration, Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Preston, rode with eighty horsemen into

Rutherglen, extinguished the bonfires, and affixed to the cross a declaration, and a notice of meeting at London Hill, on the borders of Lanark and Ayr. John Graham of Claverhouse, the 'Bloody Clavers,' had just received command in that district, with a troop of life-guards. The conventicle was held on Sunday, June 1, 1679; the religious service had begun, when the watchers gave warning that Claverhouse and the dragoons were coming. The men, in number about two hundred, of whom forty were mounted, moved eastward to Drumclog, and took up a position behind a moss cutting. Hamilton, though brave, had no capacity as a leader; but Burley could fight, and Hackston had both courage and skill. They charged and scattered the dragoons, who left thirty-six dead, while the Covenanters only lost three. In a few days the numbers of the latter rose to five thousand, and they took Glasgow.

233. BOTHWELL BRIDGE.—A large army was sent to crush them, under the Duke of Monmouth, called in Scotland the Duke of Buccleuch. With their banner, 'Christ's crown and the Covenant,' the Covenanters took position on the south side of Bothwell Bridge, then narrow, with a high centre and a strong gate, which might have been held against great odds. But they were divided in council, and almost fighting among themselves, up to the very moment of battle (June 22, 1679). There was no plan, and each party fought as it best might. Many brave deeds were done, and Hackston held the bridge till his ammunition was exhausted. A terrible defeat of the Covenanters ensued. Monmouth rather pitied than blamed them, and checked the pursuit. About three hundred were slain, twelve hundred made prisoners and

penned in the Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh. Many of them perished from exposure, privation, and fever, and most of the survivors were shipped as slaves to the plantations in the West Indies.

234. COVENANTING ZEAL.—The more they were oppressed, the more zealous the Covenanters became. Donald Cargill, a popular preacher, excommunicated the king at a meeting in the Torwood; the Sanquhar Declaration—a testimony nailed by Richard Cameron to the market-cross of the town from which it derives its name—renounced him, as a tyrant and usurper; there was a small but well-fought battle at Airdsmoss, in which fell Richard Cameron, who left his name to a regiment and to a religious body. Hackston was taken and afterwards executed. Then came the *killing-time*. Commissions were given to officers and even to common soldiers, to put to death, in presence of two witnesses, all persons, armed or unarmed, who would not disown the Declaration. John Brown, a pious carrier at Priesthill, near Muirkirk, was asked to pray for the king, and on declining, was shot at his own door by Claverhouse, in presence of his wife and daughter (May 1, 1685). As the wife bent over her mangled husband, Claverhouse jeeringly asked: ‘What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?’ ‘I ever thought meikle good of him, and now more than ever,’ was her reply. Not men alone were put to death. An elderly woman and a girl of eighteen were tied to stakes, and drowned by the rising tide, in the narrow channel of the Bladenoch, near Wigtown (May 11, 1685). Charles II. died, February 6, 1685, leaving the character of a profligate and worthless prince.

235. JAMES VII.—James, brother of the late king, who had become a Roman Catholic while yet Duke of York, was proclaimed King James VII. at the cross of Edinburgh. A rising was made in England in favour of the succession to the throne of the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., and in connection with it the Earl of Argyle made an attempt in the west of Scotland. His clan did not join him in force; he was hampered with advisers without capacity or influence; was captured at Inchinnan, and beheaded in Edinburgh (June 30, 1685). Persecutions, in which the boot and the thumb-screw, instruments of torture, were freely used, went on for a time. In one day the hangman cut off the ears of 35 people; women were often branded in the cheek with hot irons and then shipped off to the plantations; and 110 persons, men and women, were at one time confined in a vault of Dunnottar Castle. It seemed as if Scotland would soon be under despotic power as completely as France. But the persecutions came to an end with the execution of James Renwick, a Cameronian minister (February 18, 1688). England would not submit to the misgovernment of James; and William, Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of James, was invited to deliver the country from his misrule. William was the son of Mary, daughter of Charles I.

1660-85. CHARLES II.

1661. Prelacy restored.

1662. The Covenanters persecuted.

1666. Their defeat at Pentland.

1670. Attending conventicles a capital crime.

1679. Sharp killed; Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.

1685-88. JAMES II. (VII. of Scotland).

1685. Rising and execution of Argyle.

1688. Renwick, the last martyr.

The king restores episcopacy; requires the Covenant to be abjured; persecutes those who adhered to it with increasing severity, till they are goaded into rebellion. His ministers in Scotland, mostly unprincipled and corrupt, abet the tyranny of the king.

XXX. WILLIAM III. : 1688-1702.—ANNE:
1702-14.

The Revolution; Dundee and the Highlands; the Darien Scheme; the Union.

236. WILLIAM AND MARY.—William landed with an army at Torbay (November 5, 1688); and was joined by many of the nobility and gentry. James, finding that he could not rely on his army, fled from London. William entered, and was welcomed with enthusiasm. The change made by the Revolution was more violent in Scotland than in England. In the latter country, the machinery of government moved on in new hands; in Scotland, the machine had to be removed before the work could proceed. The right to vote had been withheld from the Presbyterians, who formed the great body of the people; and, under the existing law, the vote of no one was held valid if he did not swear that he renounced the Covenant. William, however, took upon himself the responsibility of dispensing

with the act which required this oath, and admitted Presbyterians to the franchise. The Duke of Hamilton was made president of the council; but on Scots affairs, the king trusted more to the Dalrymples of Stair, and to the advice of William Carstairs, who subsequently became principal of the university of Edinburgh. The king maintained toleration, which few then believed in, and fewer professed. In his opinion, a bishop neither made nor unmade a church, and a prayer-book was neither sinful nor necessary. The Estates abolished Episcopacy, reinstated Presbyterianism, decreed the restoration of the ejected ministers, and abolished patronage. The English parliament, unwilling to assert that a sovereign might be deposed, declared that James had abdicated the throne by his flight; but the Scots asserted that he had 'forfaulted' the crown by misconduct. They accepted William and Mary; and required all the clergy, under pain of deprivation, to read the proclamation of this fact from the pulpit, and to pray for the new sovereigns. Few members of the Estates made much opposition, though many of them had joined in all the previous tyranny.

237. THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.—The body of the people welcomed the Revolution without much disturbance. The lives, however, of Claverhouse, who had become Viscount Dundee, and of Sir George Mackenzie, who had been the king's advocate and public prosecutor, were threatened. The heads and members of the executed martyrs were taken down from the places where they had been exposed, and were honourably buried. At Christmas, a holiday which the Presbyterian Scots had never taken to, the people in many districts *rabbled* the curates—as the Episcopal ministers were nicknamed—that is, sacked

their larders and cellars, turned them out of their houses, tore their surplices, and bade them begona. The Cameronians thought the Revolution incomplete, and without opposing, would not recognise the government of William and Mary. About two hundred Episcopal clergy gave up their livings rather than conform to it; and many of the gentry were dissatisfied with the new order of things.

238. DUNDEE.—The Duke of Gordon held Edinburgh Castle for James, but received no supplies, and had soon to surrender. Viscount Dundee escaped from Edinburgh along with fifty troopers. When he reached Inverness, he found an old freebooter, Macdonald of Keppoch, investing that town with a view to pillage. This man, against whom James, while he was king, had issued letters of 'fire and sword,' only to find his own forces defeated, became the first ally of Dundee. His loyalty to James might reasonably be doubted; but Dundee appealed to his interest. This was the only principle upon which all the clans could be united in the cause he espoused. As Argyle had been restored, and his power was reviving, a number of clans—Macdonalds, Camerons, and Macleans—from old enmity or recent quarrel, were prepared to fight for the cause of James because Argyle adhered to William. The men of Athole were divided, for their chief had withdrawn to England, while his son stood for William, and his steward for James, in whose cause the greater number of them joined Dundee under the steward.

239. KILLIECRANKIE.—The escape of Dundee from Edinburgh was effected before the arrangements of the Estates had been made. The government issued a proclamation for all Protestants between sixteen and sixty

years of age to be ready to muster. Three Scots regiments, who had come over with William, arrived in the country under Mackay, a brave officer, who was appointed to the command. A regiment—now the 26th Cameronians—was raised from among the less extreme Covenanters, and stationed at Dunkeld under Colonel Cleland, who, while almost a boy, had headed the charge at Drumclog. Dundee, with less than three thousand men, and Mackay, with four thousand, moved to the aid of their supporters in Athole. Mackay's men had just toiled up the roadless pass of Killiecrankie, and formed at its head, when the Highlanders approached. Dundee hesitated to fight, but Lochiel said that the men were eager to fight, and he could answer for nothing if they were kept back. The fight began with musketry; several clansmen falling, and the rest growing impatient, the word to charge was given by Dundee at seven o'clock (July 27, 1689). The Highlanders dropped their plaids, fired as they advanced, threw away their guns, and charged with shouts and claymores, and defeated Mackay's men before they could fasten their bayonets. The royal troops were swept into the pass, except two regiments, one from England and the other from the Borders (now the 13th and 25th), whom Mackay rallied, took across the Garry, and led next day to Stirling. Dundee fell in the battle. At the charge his horsemen hung back, and while waving them on, his lifted arm raised his cuirass, and a shot entered his exposed side; but his fall was not generally known for some time.

240. DUNKELD.—Mackay rallied his men, and on the fourth day after the battle of Killiecrankie defeated a division of the enemy near Perth, with the loss of only

one man. Several more clans joined Cannon, Dundee's successor, who advanced on Dunkeld. On August 21, the outposts of the Cameronians were driven in by the assault of above four thousand Highlanders, but a portion of the defenders kept the church, and the greater part of them held a wall inclosing a mansion-house of the Marquis of Athole. When their bullets were spent, the Cameronians cut up the lead of the house to make more. Cleland was shot dead, and his second fell next minute, but the contest was maintained. The Highlanders fired down from adjoining houses, but a sally was made by the Cameronians, who set the houses in flames. The powder of the defenders was nearly done, and the wall was about to be carried; but they determined to retreat into the house, and fire it over themselves and their foes. The enemy, however, unexpectedly fell back, broke up, and made off to the hills. The war was ended. Mackay erected Fort William, and shut in the clans by a chain of military posts.

241. THE HIGHLANDS.—Severe contests still distracted the country: one party would allow no freedom, and another would submit to no rule. Amid the strain of a great European war, William was annoyed with petty squabbles. 'I wish,' said he, 'that Scotland was a thousand miles off, and the Duke of Hamilton king of it. Then I should be rid of them both.' To settle disputed claims of the clans, and keep them at peace, £15,000 was intrusted to John, Earl of Breadalbane, to be distributed judiciously. Among those who expected a share of this money were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, of whom MacIan was the chief. Separated from the rest of their name, surrounded by

their foes the Campbells, and in a glen too poor to support even their small sept of 200 souls, while it was admirably adapted to secure themselves and their plunder, it is no wonder that they reived even more than their neighbours. If a herd which they never fed was driven off and divided among a clan, the Highlanders no more reckoned themselves thieves, than Drake and Raleigh thought themselves pirates when they seized a galleon and divided the doubloons with their crews. Breadalbane invited the chiefs to a conference at Glenorchy regarding their claims. When MacIan appeared, Breadalbane reproached and threatened him for lifting his herds, and gave him good reason to fear he would get none of the money. MacIan returned to his glen, and exerted his influence with friendly clans to hinder a settlement which he believed would not benefit himself. The government offered a free pardon for all past offences to such as would, before 31st December 1691, swear to live peaceably. The oath was taken, though each wished his neighbours to take it before himself. Proud to see chiefs like Glengarry and Lochiel yield before him, MacIan delayed to the last.

242. GLENCOE.—When he reached Fort William, on the last day of December, there was no one to administer the oath; but Colonel Hill, the governor, gave him a letter to the sheriff at Inveraray. The old chief hastened over the mountains, not even calling at his glen, and reached Inveraray on 6th January. Though it was past the time, the oath was administered to him and certified to Edinburgh. Argyle and Breadalbane were not sorry to see an enemy in difficulties. But Stair was more merciless than they, and suppressed the certificate. Letters of

fire and sword had been prepared for such as stood out ; and, without an explanation of the circumstances, the king's signature was obtained to one against MacI'an. The execution of this commission was intrusted to Colonel Hamilton, with a part of an Argyle regiment stationed at Fort William. Hamilton sent 120 soldiers under Campbell of Glenlyon, whose niece was married to MacI'an's son. Though their arrival created alarm, they gave assurance of peace and good-will, and were entertained for twelve days with Highland hospitality. They found out all the outlets from Glencoe, and how to stop them, and then reported to Hamilton, who fixed the morning of the 13th February 1692 for the blow. Late in the previous evening suspicions arose, but again assurances of friendship were given. A massacre, however, which had every element of cowardly cruelty in it, was perpetrated that morning. Fortunately, only about forty of the glensmen were killed, for Hamilton, with the main force, did not come up in time to stop the passes. In the first Scots parliament that met after the massacre, no notice was taken of it ; but in 1695 inquiry was made. The subordinates in the affair were punished ; but Stair, the most guilty of all, only lost his office.

243. PARISH SCHOOLS.—The Estates, in 1696, ordained that every parish should provide a commodious school-house, and pay a stipend to a schoolmaster. This made general and certain what had yet been only partial and irregular, and was the first system of national education in the world. Its effect was not immediately seen, but in a short time its beneficial influence on the people of Scotland became manifest. These schools secured other and perhaps greater benefits : the sons of the laird, the farmer, and the cottar were taught in the same class ; and this companionship in youth often prevented estrangement in age. The rich

became more homely, and the poor were saved from servility. But for this mingling of ranks, the old songs might have become the songs of a class, limited in area and in sympathy; and Burns, if ever his genius had been called forth, would have been, not the national poet, but a local bard.

244. **DARIEN COMPANY.**—The Darien colony was originated by William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England. He reasoned that the people of Tyre on a rock, of Venice and Amsterdam in swamps, had drawn to themselves the wealth of the world, and the Scots were at least not inferior to them. He had been at the Isthmus of Darien, and his glowing descriptions of that region captivated his fellow-countrymen. The settlement of a colony of Scotchmen in it was enthusiastically agreed to. An act of the Scots parliament was sanctioned by the Lord High Commissioner (June 26, 1695), forming the Company of Scotland for trading with Africa and the Indies; and an entire monopoly of the trade with Asia, Africa, and America, for a period of thirty years, was granted to the company. A capital of £220,000 was raised in shares of £100. The Edinburgh and Glasgow corporations each took thirty, and Perth twenty. Of the nobles, Belhaven, Hamilton, and Queensberry took each thirty; Argyle, fifteen; and Stair, ten. At that time £100 represented, perhaps, more of the wealth of Scotland than £10,000 would now. Five vessels sailed with 1200 men in 1698; they reached the Isthmus, and settled on a peninsula, which they called New Caledonia, and laid out a site for New Edinburgh. Labour, however, under a tropical sun, and insufficient or unsuitable food, brought on disease; and the settlers took ship and fled. Three vessels sailed for the Hudson, 400 of the emigrants dying on the voyage. A second expedition, consisting of four ships and 1300 men, did not reach Darien till the first had left. They fared even worse; for they quarrelled among themselves, and a Spanish force compelled them to leave the country. Very few of them lived to see Scotland again. Two of their ships were lost on the way home. Many of the adventurers took employment on the plantations of Jamaica; and Paterson, after recovering from a temporary lunacy, brought on by the disastrous failure of the scheme, spent the rest of his life in retirement.

245. QUEEN ANNE.—Queen Mary died in the end of 1694 (her father, James VII., died in 1701). William was hurt by a fall of his horse in passing from Kensington to Hampton Court, and died March 8, 1702. He was succeeded by Anne, second daughter of James. The children of Anne (who had married Prince George of Denmark) having all died, the English parliament excluded from the throne descendants of Charles I., and chose as Anne's successor, because she was a Protestant, Sophia, electress of Hanover, whose mother, Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, was daughter of James VI. The Scots Estates also resolved that the successor to their crown should be taken from one of the Protestant descendants of the royal line, but did not accept the choice of England. A spirit of hostility to the English was rising. The Scots believed that, had their king been among them, neither the massacre of Glencoe nor the failure at Darien would have occurred. He would have been subject to their influence and control, but in England he encroached on their liberties, and paid little attention to their feelings and wishes. Some, headed by Fletcher of Salton, believed that with their sovereign in the richer and more powerful country, the Scots could never be free to act for themselves, unless the power of the crown was so restricted, that Scotland would be a republic in all but the name. The English deprived the Scots of citizenship, and the Scots lowered the duties on the wines of France, though England was at war with that country. The Darien Company still existed for trade, and one of their vessels, in an English harbour, was seized and condemned at the instance of the East India Company. An English vessel, engaged in the India trade, having put into the Forth, was seized by the

Darien Company, and the captain and two of the crew were executed on a charge of piracy. The two nations were drifting into war, and it was painfully evident that nothing would insure peace but a thorough legislative union of the two countries.

246. THE UNION.—Both parliaments authorised the queen to appoint commissioners for a treaty of union, the Scots stipulating that they should ‘not treat of or concerning any alteration of the church.’ Thirty-one commissioners were appointed for each side, and they met in Whitehall, April 16, 1706. Among the parties in Scotland, the two extremes were the Cameronians, who, holding aloof from the established government and church, would have nothing less than a covenanted sovereign; and the Jacobites, generally Episcopalians, who wished a restoration of the old royal family. The national party mainly desired to preserve their ancient liberties, but a portion of them wished an entire separation of the two kingdoms; some a *federal* union, both nations retaining their own parliament, but uniting in a perpetual league under one sovereign; and others would accept an *incorporating* union with one parliament, if this could be satisfactorily arranged. The Presbyterians generally favoured a union of some kind.

247. DIFFICULTIES.—It will be seen that the commissioners had a difficult task. Even on the same side there were different opinions and interests, and a majority had to agree on each article of the treaty, affecting matters on which intelligent and honest men might reasonably differ. Then each article had to be sanctioned by both sides, representing opposing and jealous nations, with different

histories, ideas, and leanings. And in addition, the treaty, not only as a whole, but in all its parts, had to be discussed and voted by both Houses in England, and by the Estates in Scotland, where very extreme parties and interests were represented.

248. THE TREATY.—The commissioners first agreed that each country should keep its own church, and its own laws and courts of law. By this arrangement the feudal jurisdictions were preserved in Scotland, till the rebellion of 1745 shewed the necessity of abolishing them. The English then proposed that there should be one kingdom, 'by the name of Great Britain,' one parliament, and one order of succession to the throne. After much discussion, the Scots agreed to this, provided the trade and citizenship of each country should be free to the other. The English then proposed that the new kingdom should have the same customs and excise duties, regulations of trade, moneys, weights, and measures. With some modifications this was also agreed to; the smaller and poorer country adopting those of the other; and £400,000 was paid to the Scots for losses which the change might cause. Of this, part was to buy up the Darien shares, part to pay for loss on the coinage, of which Scotland seems to have had about £1,000,000; and the surplus was to be devoted to the improvement of fisheries and manufactures. To the English House of Commons of five hundred and thirteen members, Scotland was to send forty-five, made up of thirty from the counties and fifteen from the burghs. The Scots peers were not admitted to the House of Lords as a body, but were to elect sixteen of their number to represent them. The new national flag was to combine the crosses of St

George and St. Andrew; and the new royal arms were to quarter those of both countries, the Scots arms having the place of honour in Scotland. The articles of an *incorporating* union, signed by twenty-seven of the English commissioners and twenty-six of the Scots, were presented to the queen (July 23, 1706).

249. THE TREATY IN SCOTLAND.—The treaty was submitted to both the English and the Scots parliament. In Scotland, the discussions were long and keen, and the treaty was opposed, not only by the Jacobites, but by several of the national party, the more distinguished being Fletcher and Belhaven. The latter made an eloquent and impassioned speech of great power, picturing the many ills he imagined would follow; but the Earl of Marchmont turned off its effects by a short reply: 'Behold he dreamed; but, lo, when he awoke, behold it was a dream.' Such a flood of pamphlets and books were issued as had never been known in the country before. The articles of the treaty were burned at Dumfries, and the military had to quell mobs both in Glasgow and in Edinburgh, the latter city dreading the loss of the importance and the custom which the parliament had given it for centuries. A strange combination of Cameronians and Jacobites was rumoured, but the government were prepared to meet it, and no rising took place. The treaty was at last carried (October 16, 1706) by a majority in all the Estates, the collected votes being one hundred and ten to sixty-nine.

250. THE UNION EFFECTED.—Before passing the treaty, the Scots Estates made an 'Act of Security,' to precede the treaty, and also to be inserted in it, providing that the Presbyterian church government, with its con-

fession of faith, its discipline, and its courts, should remain unalterably the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland ; and that each sovereign, on accession to the throne, should take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of that church. On April 6, 1707, the queen gave her royal assent, and said : ‘ I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island. . . . I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they will act with all public respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people.’

1688–1702. WILLIAM III.

1689. Battle of Killiecrankie.

1692. Massacre of Glencoe.

1696. Parish schools erected.

1698. The Darien expedition.

1702–1714. ANNE.

1706. Treaty of Union.

1707. The Union completed.

William restores the Presbyterian Church ; jealousy of Argyll leads a portion of the Highlands to resistance under Dundee, who falls at Killiecrankie ; the massacre at Glencoe ; schools are provided for every parish ; the Darien scheme, ill conducted, ends in ruin ; the Scots, jealous and dissatisfied, threaten to differ from England in choosing a successor to the throne ; the legislative Union is completed.

XXXI. SCOTLAND SINCE THE UNION.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

For some time after the Union, it seemed that its results were not only less favourable than its friends expected, but worse than its enemies had foreboded. The Scots had lost their own government; their representatives in parliament had, from the smallness of their numbers, little influence, and had not yet acquired the power which their intelligence, tact, and cohesion afterwards gave them. The Scots thought they had surrendered more than the Union could compensate them for, and they found the government ignorant or careless of their feelings and interests. A number of families intrigued with the court of France and the Pretender, who called himself James VIII. of Scotland or III. of England; but the nation shewed no sympathy with this movement.

1708. Admiral Fourbin and the Pretender, with 4000 men, appeared off Montrose, and afterwards in the Forth, but fled before Admiral Byng.

1712. A motion in the House of Lords to repeal the Union was lost by only three proxy votes. In the same year, contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Union, church patronage was restored, and the privileges of the people and the church in the choice and settlement of ministers were curtailed. This was mainly the cause of three subsequent secessions from the church.

1714. Queen Anne died, and, in accordance with the settlement of 1701, the Elector of Hanover, great grandson of James VI., succeeded as George I.

GEORGE I. : 1714-27.

1715-16. The Earl of Mar, who had been a Secretary of State in the late administration, was dismissed from office, though he had made great professions of service to the new king. Having assembled a number of Jacobites from both sides of the Grampians for a grand hunt, at Braemar (August 20, 1715), Mar raised the standard of rebellion there on September 6, and James VIII. was soon after proclaimed in all the chief towns along the coast from Inverness to Perth, which Mar made his headquarters, and where he soon had an army of 12,000 men. The government

had not 2000 troops in Scotland; but the Duke of Argyll raised his own clan, and being reinforced from several Lowland towns and districts, held Stirling to bar the progress of the rebels southwards. Mar expected to be supported by risings in England, but no rising took place, except in Northumberland, where Mr Foster, one of the members of parliament for the county, and the Earl of Derwentwater, with some other noblemen, appeared in arms. These were joined by the Jacobites of the south of Scotland and a detachment from Mar's army of 2000 infantry. The united forces marched through Cumberland, and advanced to Preston, where they were attacked by the royal troops, and after an obstinate defence surrendered at discretion (13th November). On the same day Argyll met the Earl of Mar at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, where a battle was fought in which neither was altogether victorious. Argyll withdrew to Stirling, and Mar retreated to Perth to await the arrival of James, who landed with six followers at Peterhead (22d December); but his presence, unkingly and spiritless, damped the ardour of his most enthusiastic adherents. The army dispersed, and James, accompanied by Mar, sailed from Montrose for France, on 3d February 1716. For their share in this rebellion, Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure, and about twenty inferior persons, were executed; forty Scottish families of high rank lost their estates, and many persons became exiles for life.

1717-25. Much discontent was caused by increased taxation, especially by the duty on malt. Smuggling was extensively practised, and continued till a comparatively recent time. In 1725, a mob at Glasgow, excited by the provost being supposed to have acted as an informer, was only quelled by the military.

The Highland clans were at this period required to give up their arms. This they seemed readily to do, though many were believed to have surrendered the old and inferior, to buy better ones. About this time also, several military roads in the Highlands, were constructed by General Wade; Fort-Augustus was erected in Glenmore, and another fort at Inverness.

GEORGE II. : 1727-60.

1727. The Royal Bank was instituted, in addition to the Bank of Scotland, which dates from 1695. Another, the British

Linen Company's Bank, dates from 1746. The other eight existing banks belong to the present century. The country has been greatly benefited by their allowing dealers, according to arrangement, to draw upon them to a certain amount; giving interest on deposits; and issuing *one-pound* notes. In 1727 the Board of Manufactures was constituted.

1732. On account of religious grievances, the chief of which was the forcible obtrusion upon congregations of unacceptable ministers, the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, preached this year a sermon in which he denounced the recent legislation of the Church of Scotland. He and three others who supported him were deposed the following year. This led to the formation of the Secession Church, which took definite form in 1740.

1736. A serious disturbance took place in Edinburgh, since known as the Porteous Riots. Wilson and Robertson, two noted smugglers, were lying in the Tolbooth, under sentence of death, for having robbed a collector of excise. Wilson assisted Robertson to escape, though unable to escape himself. This generosity to his comrade excited the admiration of the mob, who hoped that Wilson might be respited. On the day of his execution the enraged rabble pelted the town-guard under Captain Porteous, who in return fired upon the crowd. Several persons having been killed, Porteous was tried and condemned to death. A reprieve was granted to allow time for inquiry, but the mob, determined that Porteous should not escape, broke open the Tolbooth, dragged out the captain, and hanged him at the usual place of execution.

1739. The regiment known as the 'Black Watch,' or 42d, was embodied. It had for some years been a protective police for restraining marauders and 'broken men' on the Highland borders.

1745-46. France proposed to assist Prince Charles, son of the Pretender, by invading Britain with 15,000 men, but the expedition, prevented by the fleet of Sir John Norris, was abandoned. The prince, however, with seven adherents, sailed from St Nazaire, on the Loire (June 22, 1745). He landed on the west coast of Inverness-shire, pushed forward to Glenfinnan, west of Lochail, where he set up his standard on August 19, and was joined by the Camerons and others to the number of 1500. Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, marched north with 1400 men, but drawing off to Inverness, he left the great

Highland road open to Charles, who entered Perth, 4th September. On the 15th, Charles took possession of Edinburgh, held court in Holyrood, and proclaimed his father at the cross. Meanwhile Cope came by sea from Aberdeen to Dunbar, and took up position between Tranent and Prestonpans, with 2000 men. On the 22d, the Prince, with 3000 men, charged Cope and completely routed him. On that occasion the famous Colonel Gardiner fell fighting at the head of a few of the infantry who remained to fight when his own troop of horse had forsaken him. The victory obtained for the young Pretender arms, money, and reinforcements. Moving south with 6000 men, he entered Carlisle (November 18, 1745), marched through Lancashire, and reached Derby on the 4th December. But the English Jacobites held aloof, and there were now opposing the rebels three armies, each of 10,000 men—Wade on the east, the Duke of Cumberland on Stafford Moors, and the king at Finchley, covering London. A retreat was imperative. Repulsing the van of their pursuers near Penrith, the rebels levied contributions on Dumfries and Glasgow, and laid siege to Stirling Castle, where their numbers were increased to 9000 men. The English General Hawley having attacked Charles at Falkirk (January 17, 1746), was forced to retreat; but Cumberland's advance made the rebels retire from Stirling, and at Crieff (February 2, 1746) they divided, one part marching to Inverness by Blair Athole, and the other by Aberdeen. The war came to an end, 16th April, at Culloden, where Cumberland completely defeated the rebel army. Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat, who had taken a lead in the rebellion, were captured and executed as traitors; and many other persons suffered death. A price was set on the prince's head, but though his person and hidings were known to many who had not supported him, he was not betrayed. After spending some time in the western islands, he at last made his escape in a French vessel, and landed at Morlaix (September 29, 1746). Fort-George was built near Inverness, to check any further rising of the Highland clans.

1748. In this year were abolished the hereditary sheriffdoms, the lordships of regality which gave the baron's court the same power as the king's, and tenure by military service to superiors; stated and regular circuits were henceforth made by the king's courts.

1752. The Rev. Thomas Gillespie, of Carnock, opposing with others the settlement of a minister against the will of the people, was deposed, and founded the Relief Church.

GEORGE III. : 1760-1820.

1770. The Clyde Trust was instituted, which has converted a small fordable stream into one of the great shipping emporiums of the world.

1784. The Highland and Agricultural Society was formed, and the Fishery Board originated.

1786. The Commission for Northern Lighthouses was instituted. It has now 68 lights round the coast.—Robert Burns issued the first edition of *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*.

1792. Cotton-spinning was introduced into Glasgow. It has developed into one of the staple trades of that city, which now has all around it huge spinning and weaving mills.

1799. Thomas Campbell published his *Pleasures of Hope*.

1810. Savings banks were originated by the Rev. H. Duncan of Ruthwell. Their deposits in Scotland now amount to £5,000,000.

1812. The *Comet*, built by Henry Bell, on the Clyde, was the first steamboat on a navigable river. The steam ship-building on that river is now the greatest in the world.

1814. Sir Walter Scott began his great career as a novelist by the publication of *Waverley*. Other distinguished Scots authors, whose works and dates will be found mentioned in larger histories than this, are Allan Ramsay, Thomson (author of *The Seasons*), Tannahill, Hogg, Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson the historian, Dr Reid, and Dugald Stewart.

GEORGE IV. : 1820-30.

1822. Scotland was visited by George IV. This was the first royal visit to the country since the time of Charles II.

1828. The hot-blast, introduced by Neilson, gave a great impetus to iron-making in Scotland. The enormous iron-trade which has sprung up since would have been impossible but for the large supply of coals which has been found in Lanarkshire, Fifehire, and Ayrshire.

WILLIAM IV. : 1830-37.

1832. The Reform Act increased the members for Scotland to 53, and gave a vote to those paying £10 rent in burghs, or £50 in counties.

1833. The Municipal Reform Act gave to parliamentary voters in burghs the election of town-councillors, who choose the magistrates from their own body.—The manufacture of jute was this year introduced into the country. Above 200,000 tons are now yearly imported into Britain, chiefly to Dundee.

QUEEN VICTORIA : 1837—

1842. Queen Victoria visited Scotland, and in 1848 began her annual residence at Balmoral.

1843. On account of disputes arising chiefly from the law of patronage, 474 ministers left the Established Church, and formed the Free Church of Scotland, which has now upwards of 900 ministerial charges.

1845. A poor-law empowered boards in every parish, to take care of the poor, and to levy rates for their maintenance.

1846. Numerous railways were projected. Scotland has (1873) 2600 miles of railway.

1847. The Secession and Relief Churches, consisting of 497 congregations, combined to form the United Presbyterian Church.

1858. The Universities of Scotland were remodelled by an act of parliament, which added materially to their powers of self-government and improvement.

1868. A Reform Act increased the members for Scotland to 60, and reduced the franchise to £5 in burghs and £12 in counties.

1872. An Act provided for voting by ballot. The Education Act gave School Boards to every parish and burgh of Scotland, with power to provide schools and teachers, and to levy rates.

Since the Union, Scotland has shared very largely in the general prosperity of Great Britain. Manufactures, home and foreign commerce, and agriculture, have been benefited by the Union to an unprecedented degree.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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80-85. Agricola's Invasion	1	1068. Arrival of Margaret and Edgar	21
120. Hadrian's Wall	2	1093. Fall of Malcolm at Alnwick	22
139. Antonine's Wall	2	1093. EDGAR (-1107)—Maud, queen of England	23
208. Severus in Scotland	2	1107. ALEXANDER I. (-24)	23
296. First mention of the Picts	10	1124. DAVID I. (-53)	24
360. First mention of the Scots	10	1138. Battle of the Standard	25
420. Roman legions leave Britain	3	1153. MALCOLM IV. (-65)	26
432. Death of Ninian, the Apostle of the south	18	1157. Cumberland and Northumberland ceded	26
460. Death of St Patrick	18	1164. Somerled defeated and slain	26
503. State of the Dalriad Scots founded	11	1165. WILLIAM THE LION (-1214)	27
563. Columbia settles in Iona	18	1174. Homage done to Henry	27
826. Columban headquarters removed to Dunkeld	19	1189. Independence restored	27
843. Kenneth, king of Picts and Scots	12	1214. ALEXANDER II. (-49)	27
945. Malcolm I. acquires Cumberland	12	1244. Treaty of Newcastle	28
990. Kenneth III. defeats the Danes at Lun-carty	12	1249. ALEXANDER III. (-86)	28
1014. Malcolm II. defeats the Danes at Mortlach	12	1251. Marries Margaret of England	28
1018. Malcolm defeats the Saxons at Carham	12	1263. Hebrides ceded by Haco	29
Last mention of a Strathclyde prince	10	1286. Alexander killed	30
1057. MALCOLM III. (-93)	21	1289. Treaty of Birgham	39
1066. Norman conquest of England	21	1290. Death of Margaret	40
		1291. Ten competitors meet Edward	40
		1292. Baliol accepts the kingdom	41
		1296. Baliol resigns	42
		1297. Wallace leader	44
		Victory at Stirling	45

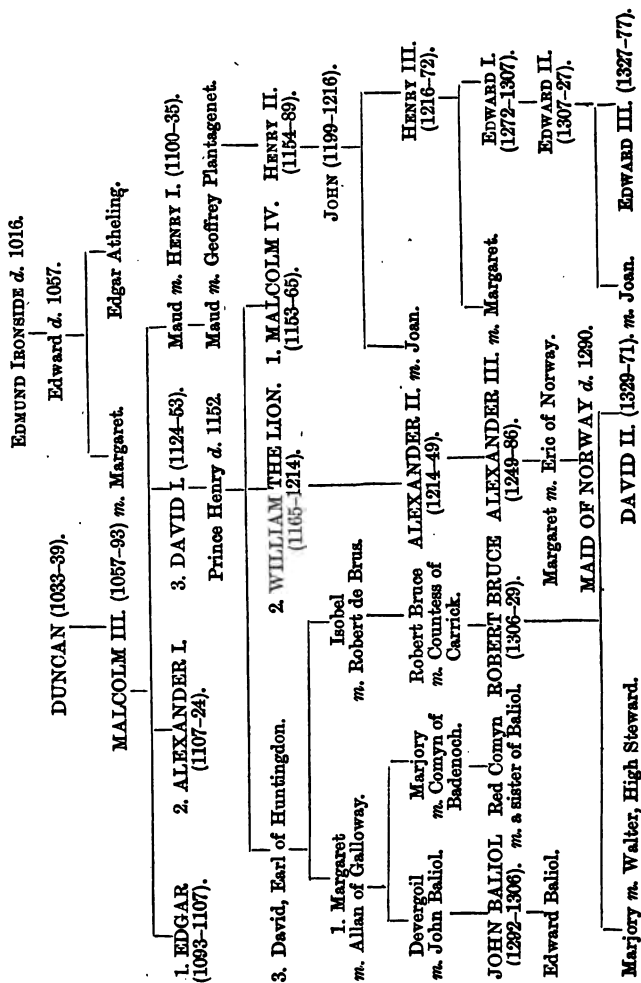
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1313. Siege of Stirling.....	56	1425. Execution of Murdoch	81
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1322. Invasion by Edward II.	62	1452. Douglas stabbed by James.....	88
1327. Raid into England by Douglas and Moray.	62	Lyndsay defeated by Huntly.....	89
1329. Death of Bruce.....	64	1454. Flight of Douglas to England.....	90
1329. DAVID II. (-71).....	65	1460. James killed at Roxburgh.....	91
1330. Fall of Douglas in Spain	64	1460. JAMES III. (-88).....	92
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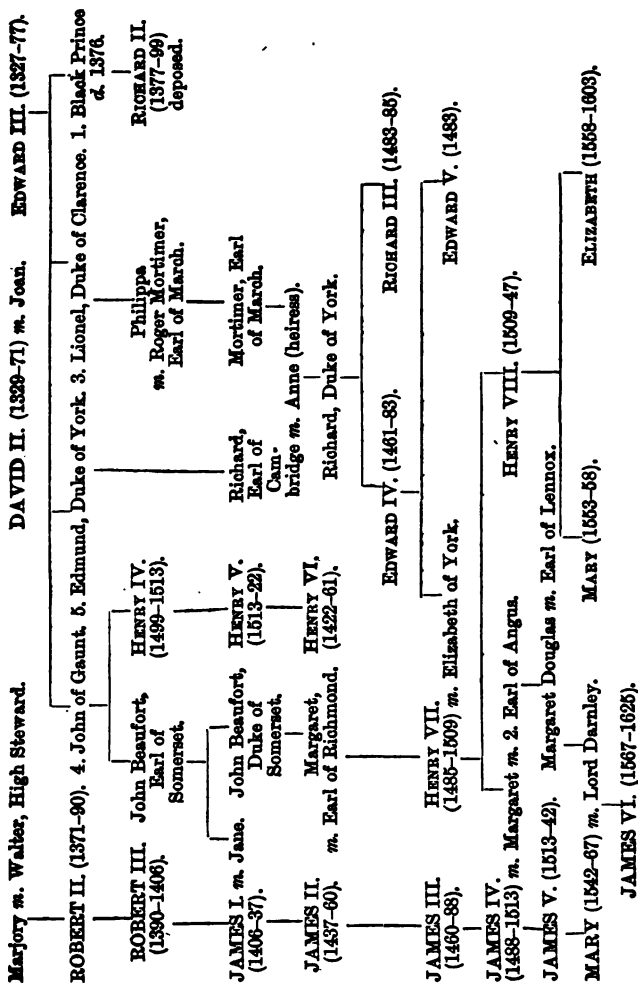
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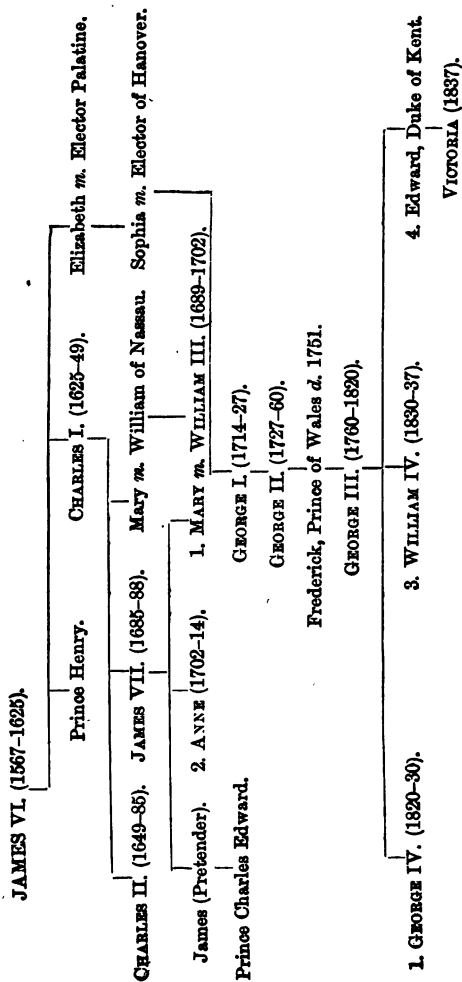
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1748. Legal reforms.....	217	1858. The Universities of Scotland remodelled.....	219
1752. The Relief Church founded.....	218	1868. A Reform Act passed.....	219
1760. GEORGE III. (-1820).....	218	1872. The Ballot Act passed.....	219
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SCOTTISH SOVEREIGNS.







QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.—PAGES 1-8.

PAR.

1. Give an account of the first Roman invasion of Scotland.
 2. Describe the nature and object of Hadrian's Wall.
 3. Describe Antonine's Wall. What was done by Severus in Scotland?
 4. Give an account of the incursions of the Picts and Scots into South Britain. When were the Romans withdrawn from Britain?
 5. What are the chief Roman remains in Scotland?
 6. What are the Catrail, hill forts, vitrified forts, 'burghs,' earth-houses, Pict's houses, crannoges?
 7. Describe the sepulchral or religious remains.
 8. Describe the sculptured stones of Scotland.
 9. What is meant by the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Periods? Describe the ancient implements found in Scotland. Give the dates of the following events :—Agricola's invasion ; Hadrian's Wall ; Antonine's Wall ; Severus in Scotland ; Picts and Scots at London ; retirement of the Romans from Britain.
-

CHAPTER II.—PAGES 9-16.

10. State what you know of the Celts and Teutons. Mention Celtic river-names common to both England and Scotland.
11. Who were the Meathians and Caledonians?
12. Give an account of the Britons.
13. What is known regarding the Picts previous to their union with the Scots?
14. State what you know of the name Scots. What was the condition of Ireland at the commencement of the dark ages?
15. Give an account of the rise of the Scots power. Name the kings mentioned from Kenneth to Macbeth.

PAR.

16. What were the limits of the kingdom of Northumbria? By whom was its possession contested? What was the true Arthur-land? Who was the legendary hero of the Celts?
 17. Give an account of the Norsemen, their origin, their character, and its influence on the population of this country.
 18. What were the Norse centres of power in Scotland?
 19. Mention names from the Cymric, Gaelic, Saxon, and Norse, as applied to hills, plains, valleys, rivers, islands, inclosures. Give the dates of the following :—First mention of the Picts; first mention of the Scots; Kenneth, king of Picts and Scots; last mention of a Strathclyde prince.
-

CHAPTER III.—PAGES 17-20.

20. What is known of the religion of the ancient Britons?
 21. What was the nature of the Norse religion? Give the origin of our names of the days.
 22. Who were the earliest apostles of Christianity in Scotland?
 23. Give an account of Columba and his work. In what respects did the Columbites differ from the Church of Rome? What was their character? Who were the missionaries they sent to England?
 24. What was the nature of the revival in the church at the close of the tenth century? Give an account of the Culdee Church. Give the dates of the following :—Death of Ninian; death of St Patrick; Columba's arrival in Iona; removal of the Columbites to Dunkeld.
-

CHAPTER IV.—PAGES 21-26.

25. Who was Malcolm Canmore? How and when did he become king?
26. What was the cause of the Saxon immigration into Scotland, and what were its results? How did Malcolm treat the north of England? Describe William's attack on Scotland. What was the character of Edgar? How was he ultimately received

PAR.

- by William? When did William die, and by whom was he succeeded? What led to Malcolm's next advance into England, and what was its result? Relate the circumstances connected with Malcolm's last advance into England.
27. What was Malcolm's character? What was the character of Margaret, and her influence on the Scottish court?
28. By whom was Malcolm succeeded? When was Edgar placed on the throne? State the chief event of his reign and its consequences.
29. Who succeeded Edgar, and when? What were the chief events of this reign? Why did not the king advance into England?
30. Who was David I.? How was he connected with Henry of England? Relate the circumstances connected with the succession to Henry. For what is the time of Stephen noted?
31. Describe the battle of the Standard and its results. How did David spend the rest of his reign? Give the dates of the following :—Accession of Malcolm III.; Norman conquest of England; death of Malcolm; accession of Alexander I. and of David I.; battle of the Standard; death of David I.

CHAPTER V.—PAGES 26–31.

32. Give an account of the reign of Malcolm the Maiden.
33. Who succeeded Malcolm, and when? Give an account of his invasion of Northumberland and its consequences. What terms were come to between him and Richard?
34. When did William die, and by whom was he succeeded? What was the condition of matters confirmed by the treaty of Newcastle? When did Alexander die? How was he engaged at the time of his death?
35. Who succeeded Alexander II.? Who was his mother, and whom did he marry? Who was Haco, and what was the object of his expedition?
36. Describe the progress of Haco's expedition, and the battle of Larga. What was the result of Haco's defeat? How did the royal families of Scotland and Norway become connected?

PAR.

37. Who was now king of England? Give an account of Alexander's doing homage to Edward. What was the character of Alexander III.? Relate the circumstances of his death. To whom was the crown to go? Give the dates of the following:—Accession of Malcolm IV.; cession of Cumberland and Northumberland; accession of William the Lion; of Alexander II.; treaty of Newcastle; accession of Alexander III.; cession of the Hebrides; death of Alexander.
-

CHAPTER VI.—PAGES 31–33.

38. Explain the origin of the feudal system.
39. Explain 'lords' and 'vassals,' and describe their duties.
40. Describe 'fiefs' and 'homage.'
41. Who were 'villeins,' and what was their condition?
42. How did services under the feudal system come to be redeemed? How was the feudal system in Britain prevented from becoming a complete tyranny?
-

CHAPTER VII.—PAGES 34–39.

43. In what respects did the feudal system in Scotland differ from that in England?
44. Of whom were the early parliaments composed?
45. Who were the officers of state, and what were their powers?
46. Give an account of the early laws of Scotland, and the values for injury or loss of life.
47. What were the penalties for crimes? What protection was provided for the accused, the oppressed, and the serf?
48. What were the privileges and power of the burghs?
49. What were the chief articles of commerce, the principal trades, the means of conveyance, and the merchant guilds?
50. What is learned from the records of the monasteries about the state of farming? What was the price of grain in the time of Alexander III.?
51. Give an account of the principal buildings of the period.

CHAPTER VIII.—PAGES 39–43.

PAR.

52. What proceedings were taken by the Estates on the death of Alexander III.? What was Edward's design? State the terms of the treaty of Birgham. What was the fate of Margaret?
53. What was the nature of the meeting at Norham Castle? Who were the chief claimants to the throne? What were the respective claims of Baliol and Bruce?
54. What were the next proceedings of Edward? How was the succession settled? How was the decision received by the Scots? How was Baliol treated by Edward? What led to the Scots' raids across the Border?
55. Describe Edward's proceedings in Scotland. Whom did Edward leave in charge of the country? Give the dates of the following:—Treaty of Birgham; death of Margaret; Baliol's acceptance of the kingdom; Baliol's resignation.

CHAPTER IX.—PAGES 44–50.

56. Who was Sir William Wallace? What led to his attacks on the English? What were the difficulties of Wallace's position?
57. What steps were now taken by Edward? Who was Bruce, and what were his proceedings? Describe the battle of Stirling. What were the consequences of this victory?
58. Give an account of the battle of Falkirk.
59. What became of Wallace? How was the country now treated by Edward?
60. What was the fate of Wallace? Give the dates of the following:—Battles of Stirling and Falkirk; death of Wallace.

CHAPTER X.—PAGES 51–55.

61. How was the early life of Bruce spent? What was the nature of his league with Lambertton? Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of Comyn.

PAR.

62. When was Bruce crowned, and by whom? What was the fate of the Macduff's sister? What proceedings were now taken by Edward, and with what results?
63. What was Edward's vow? When did he die? How was Bruce now occupied? Describe the affair at the pass near Tyndrum. Give the dates of the following:—League of Bruce and Lamberton; murder of Comyn; coronation of Bruce; death of Edward I.
-

CHAPTER XI.—PAGES 55-60.

65. What was the harrying of Buchan? What was now the good fortune of Bruce?
66. Describe the position taken up by Bruce at Bannockburn.
67. What was the respective strength of the armies? Describe the combat of Bruce with Bohun.
68. Relate the details of the battle of Bannockburn. Give the dates of the following:—Defeat of the Comyns at Inverury; siege of Stirling; battle of Bannockburn.
-

CHAPTER XII.—PAGES 60-64.

69. What work now lay before Bruce? What was the career of Edward Bruce in Ireland?
70. Relate the circumstances connected with the recovery of Berwick. What was the 'Chapter of Mitton'?
71. How was the pope reconciled?
72. What caused the raids into England? Describe the raid of 1327. When was Scotch independence acknowledged by the English parliament?
73. Relate the circumstances connected with the death of Bruce. What became of his heart? Give the dates of the following:—Edward Bruce in Ireland; siege of Berwick; chapter of Mitton; invasion by Edward II.; raid of Douglas and Moray into England; death of Bruce; death of Douglas.

P.A.R.

93. What led to Graham's conspiracy ?
 94. Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of James.
 95. What was the fate of the murderers ? Give instances of suffering for opinion during this reign. When was the university of St Andrews founded ?
-

CHAPTER XVII.—PAGES 85–92.

96. Who was the next king, and where was he crowned ? Why was he not crowned at Scone ? Relate the different steps taken to secure the custody of the king. Whom did the queen marry ? What was the fate of the Douglasses ?
 97. Give some account of the rise and power of the Douglasses.
 98. Whose claims to the crown did they represent ? For what reasons was the name of Bruce so dear to the Scots ? Who was James the Fat ?
 99. By what means did the Douglas again rise to power ? Describe the case of M'Lellan.
 100. Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of Douglas.
 101. Who were Douglas's chief allies ? Give an account of the fight among the Lyndsays, Ogilvies, and Huntly.
 102. Give an account of the king's attempts to put down the Douglas.
 103. Who were the Black and the Red Douglasses ? What was the result of their conflict ?
 104. Who was the king's chief adviser, and what was his character ? What laws were now passed ? What measures were taken for the defence of the country ?
 105. Relate the circumstances connected with the death of James II. How did the siege of Roxburgh end ? Where did the castle stand ? Give the dates of the following :—Accession and death of James II : murder of Douglas at Edinburgh Castle ; murder of William Douglas by the king.

CHAPTER XVIII.—PAGES 92-99.

PAR.

106. Who succeeded James II., and by whom was the government directed? Who now took refuge in Scotland? Describe the intrigues of Edward IV. against Scotland.
 107. Give an account of the rise and fall of the Boyds. What family next became the nearest to the throne?
 108. How were the arrears due to the king of Denmark settled?
 109. What was the character of the king's favourites?
 110. Who was Cochrane, and what influence did he exercise? Who was Albany? What accusation was made against him? What were his subsequent proceedings?
 111. What was the object of the muster on Boroughmuir? What was the feeling of the barons towards Cochrane?
 112. What was Cochrane's fate? What became of the king, Albany, and Douglas?
 113. What was the confederacy against the king? Relate the circumstances of the king's death.
 114. State what you know of Captain Wood. Give the dates of the following:—Accession and death of James III.; death of Bishop Kennedy; acquirement of Orkney and Shetland; hanging of Cochrane.
-

CHAPTER XIX.—PAGES 99-109.

115. Who succeeded James III.? How did the confederates use their success? What were the relations between Scotland and England?
116. What steps were taken to control the church? How were the Lollards treated?
117. Give an account of Warbeck.
118. What was the difference between tenure of power in the Highlands and in the Lowlands?
119. What plans had been used by the Scots kings to bring the Highlanders under control? What steps were taken to this end by James IV.? How did the Lordship of the Isles become abolished? In what way were the families of Huntly and Argyle promoted?

FAR.

120. What were the schemes of Ferdinand of Spain? To whom was his daughter married? Whom did James marry? What were the results of the two marriages?
 121. Sketch the character of James IV.
 122. Who were at this time Scotland's famous seamen? Describe the fight between Wood and Bull. What was the fate of Barton? By what influence was the growth of the Scots navy checked?
 123. What led to war with Henry VIII.? How was the projected war viewed by the nation?
 - 124, 125. Describe the battle of Flodden. What important act was passed before the battle? Give the dates of the following:—Accession and death of James IV.; Perkin Warbeck in Scotland; the king's marriage.
-

CHAPTER XX.—PAGES 110–120.

126. Who succeeded James IV.? What were the effects of Flodden? What was the character of the queen-mother?
127. Whom did the queen marry? Whom did her daughter marry, and of whom was she the mother? How did the queen spend her life? When did she die?
128. Who became regent? What was the condition of the country under Albany? What were his proceedings from 1515 to 1524?
129. What was the affair of 'Clean the Causeway'? What was the fate of Angus, and of Lady Glamis?
130. What was the condition of most of the Border Houses? Describe the fall of the Armstrongs.
131. What were now the relations with France?
132. What was the nature of the relations with England?
133. What was the object of the 'erection' of the king? When did James V. take his place as king? Who was James Beaton? What design had Wolsey against him?

PAR.

134. What led to the king's assumption of the government of the isles? When did this take place?
135. By what powers was James courted? Who were the king's wives? Give the dates of his marriages. When did James visit the Western Isles?
136. What was the cause of quarrel between Henry and James? How did the English armies succeed? Relate the circumstances of the king's death.
137. What was the character of James V.? When was the Court of Session instituted?
138. What led to an increase of the power of the church? How was it used?
139. Who was Patrick Hamilton? What was his fate? How many others were burned during this reign? What act was passed by the Estates in reference to the church? Give the dates of the following:—Accession and death of James V.; Albany, regent; Angus, guardian; burning of Patrick Hamilton; settlement of the Borders; institution of the Court of Session.

CHAPTER XXI.—PAGES 120-127.

140. Who succeeded James V.? Who became regent?
- 141, 142. What was Henry's plan for the union of the two kingdoms, and how did it succeed? Who were the 'assured lords'?
143. What was the feeling in Scotland regarding the proposed union?
144. Give an account of Hertford's devastations in Scotland.
145. Sketch the life of George Wishart. What was the effect of his death?
146. Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of Beaton. What was the fate of the conspirators?
147. Describe the battle of Pinkie.
148. When and why was Mary sent to France? When did Mary of Guise become regent?

CHAPTER XXII.—PAGES 128–135.

PAR.

149. What influences were now stirring the minds of the nations of the west? How was Scotland affected by these? When were the Scots allowed to read the Bible in their own tongue?
 150. What was the position of the Romish Church in Scotland at this time?
 151. What was the character of the clergy?
 152. What progress had been made by the Reformers in Scotland by the year 1558? Who was the last person burned for heresy? How did the Romish Church itself assist its overthrow?
 153. What was the policy of Mary of Guise?
 154. To whom was the queen married? How was Scotland affected by her marriage? When did Mary become queen of France?
 155. On what grounds did Mary take the title of queen of England?
 156. Relate the chief incidents in the life of John Knox previous to 1559. Describe his character.
 157. What was the First Covenant, and when was it signed?
 158. Give an account of the popular outbreaks which followed.
 159. What were the terms of the treaty of the lords with Elizabeth? What steps were taken by the Estates with regard to religion?
 160. How were the church temporalities disposed of?
 161. In what respects did Mary find Scotland different from France? Give the dates of the following:—Regency of Mary of Guise; the First Covenant; burning of Mill; first marriage of Mary; return of Knox; death of Mary of Guise.
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CHAPTER XXIII.—PAGES 136–148.

162. When did Queen Mary return to Scotland? Who was her chief minister?
163. How was the queen received in the north? How did she gain popularity?

PAR.

164. Who were Mary's suitors? Whom did she marry?
165. How did the Lords of the Congregation receive the proclamation of Darnley as king?
166. What was the great scheme of Philip of Spain? How did France behave in connection with it?
167. Give an account of Mary's estrangement from Darnley. Who was Rizzio? What were Darnley's feelings towards him?
168. Give an account of the murder of Rizzio.
169. What action was now taken by the exiled lords and by the queen?
170. Who brought the queen back? When was James VI. born? What honours were heaped upon Bothwell?
- 170-172. Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of Darnley.
173. Give an account of the trial which followed. Relate the steps taken by Bothwell to secure his marriage with the queen.
- 174, 175. What was the nature of the opposition to Mary? Describe what took place at Carberry Hill. What became of Mary, and of Bothwell?
175. State what is known of the casket of letters left by Bothwell.

CHAPTER XXIV.—PAGES 148-158.

176. What was the nature of the documents signed by Mary in Lochleven Castle? When was James VI. crowned? How did Elizabeth view the revolution that had been wrought in Scotland?
177. Who was appointed regent? What was his policy? What acts were ratified by the parliament of 1567?
178. Give an account of Mary's escape from Lochleven Castle.
179. Describe the battle of Langside.
180. How did Mary conduct herself in England?
181. Relate what passed at the meeting of the commissioners for the trial of Mary.
182. What was the character of Murray's rule? Relate the circumstances connected with his death.
183. Narrate the principal events that took place during the regency of Lennox.

P.A.R.

184. What was the condition of matters during Mar's regency?
 185. Who succeeded Mar? When did John Knox die? What was his character? What effect had the massacre of St Bartholomew on the Reformation in Scotland? What was the fate of Grange and of Maitland?
 186. What led to the fall of Morton? What was Morton's character? What was 'the maiden'?

CHAPTER XXV.—PAGES 158-166.

187. Give an account of the raid of Ruthven.
 188. Who was George Buchanan, and what was his character? What was the nature of James's education? What was James's character?
 189. What were the proceedings of Patrick Gray as ambassador to England?
 190. At what places did Mary live in England? What plots were formed in favour of Mary? Give an account of the Babington conspiracy.
 191. Give an account of the trial and execution of Mary.
 192. What was the Armada?
 193. When and to whom was James married?
 194. What form of church government was instituted by the Estates? Give some particulars regarding the power of the church.
 195. For what is January 1, 1600, remarkable?
 196. Give an account of the Gowrie conspiracy.
 197. When did James become king of England? By what title was he henceforward known?

CHAPTER XXVI.—PAGES 166-173.

199. Give an account of the Estates of Scotland and their power. Who were the 'Lords of the Articles,' the 'auditors of complaints,' the 'Lords of Council'?
200. Why were there no class-risings in Scotland?
201. Describe the rise and progress of education in Scotland, and mention the dates of the founding of the universities.

PAR.

202. Give an account of the principal Scots authors, and their works from the time of John Duns, or Scotus, to that of Sir David Lyndsay. When and by whom was printing introduced into Scotland?
203. Give an account of Scots architecture previous to the 17th century.
204. Describe the condition of society in Scotland during the reign of James IV.
205. What changes were made in the Scots ritual by the Acts of Assembly of 1560? What was the condition of the church buildings in 1572?
206. How was the order of bishops regarded by the Perth Assembly of 1572? What was meant by a 'tulchan' bishop? When were bishops required to resign their office?
207. What ecclesiastical measures followed the signing of the Covenant of 1580? For what is Scotland indebted to John Knox? For what is Scotland indebted to Andrew Melville?

CHAPTER XXVII.—PAGES 174–184.

208. Describe the origin and object of the Gunpowder Plot. When was Episcopacy restored?
209. When did the king visit Scotland? How did he spend his time? Name the five articles of Perth.
210. How did the Highland clans behave at this period, and how were they treated?
211. Give an account of the colonisation of New Scotland and Ulster. Who was George Heriot, and for what was he noted?
212. When did Prince Henry die? How was he regarded by the people? Who succeeded James I.? How was the question of church lands settled?
213. What change in the new council was made in 1633?
214. When was Charles crowned in Scotland? By whom was he accompanied? What was the character of Laud? How were his measures regarded by the Scots?
215. What was Laud's service-book, and how was it received?
216. What was the nature of the king's proclamation of October 17, 1637? Explain 'The Supplication,' and 'The Four Tables.'

PAR.

217. Relate the circumstances connected with the signing of the Covenant in 1638.
218. What proceedings were taken by the Assembly at Glasgow in 1638? What proceedings were taken by Montrose?
-

CHAPTER XXVIII.—PAGES 184–193.

219. When, and under what circumstances, was the Covenant again ratified?
220. What led to the treaty of Ripon? When was it signed, and what were its terms? What was the fate of Strafford?
221. Describe the battle of Marston Moor.
222. Give an account of the career of Montrose in the king's service.
223. What work was done by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster?
224. Relate the circumstances connected with the king's surrender to the Scots, and their dealings with him. What was the fate of the king? What became of Hamilton, Huntly, and Montrose?
225. What negotiations took place between the Scots and Charles II.?
226. Describe the battle of Dunbar.
227. When was Charles II. crowned in Scotland? Describe the battle of Worcester. What measures were taken by Cromwell for the pacification of Scotland? Give the dates of the following: Treaty of Ripon; battles of Marston Moor, Philiphaugh, Preston, Dunbar, Worcester; execution of Charles I.; death of Cromwell.
-

CHAPTER XXIX.—PAGES 194–201.

228. When was Charles II. restored? How was the restoration received by the Scots? When was prelacy re-established? What was the fate of Argyle?
229. Give some account of the persecution of the Covenanters at this time. What was the affair of Rullion Green?

PAR.

230. What measures against the Covenanters were enacted by the High Commission ?
231. Relate the circumstances connected with the murder of Archbishop Sharp.
232. Give an account of the battle of Drumclog.
233. Describe the battle of Bothwell Bridge.
234. What further measures were now taken against the Covenanters ? When did Charles II. die ?
235. Who succeeded Charles II. ? What was the object of Argyle's rising, and how did it end ? Who was the last martyr ?
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CHAPTER XXX.—PAGES 201–213.

236. Who was William III. ? How was Scotland affected by the Revolution ? When was Presbyterianism restored ?
- 238, 239. Describe the battle of Killiecrankie, and the circumstances that led to it.
240. How was the war ended ?
241. What measures were taken to pacify the Highlands ?
242. What was the massacre of Glencoe ?
243. When were parish schools ordered to be provided ? What benefits resulted ?
244. Give an account of the Darien company and their expeditions.
245. Who was Queen Mary, and when did she die ? When did William die ? Who was his successor ? How did a legislative union of Scotland and England become necessary ?
- 246, 250. Relate the steps by which the Union was effected.

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